

# FOCUS

## MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

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HOW DID YOUR LEGISLATOR

# VOTE?

221 DESCRIPTIONS AND VOTES ON

KEY BILLS BEFORE THE 94th & 95th CONGRESS

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The makings of an anti-machine coalition in Chicago/New Owners  
for Kansas City Star/ADLAI STEVENSON: From Senate back benches  
to prominent role as ethics panel chairman/GROUP RATINGS: Liberals  
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above average/POEMS: Collision/Arrowhead Hunting, A Guide

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# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

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The Bionic Woman doll is sold with her own beauty parlor while the Six Million Dollar Man comes with adventure kits. From Action For Children's Television News

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The Eldon, Mo. Board of Education has banned the use of the American Heritage Dictionary because it includes 39 objectionable words. Eldon (population 3520), is located in Miller County, just north of the Lake of the Ozarks. Though the board's complaint committee recommended the dictionaries be used despite the protest, the school board approved the ban, 6 to 0. From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

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April 18, 1977, Ava, Missouri . . . . Assumption Abbey, a Trappist monastery near Ava, Missouri, recently received the gift of over 100 books, reports, and periodicals on the women's movement. Press Release by the Assumption Abbey

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"Christian Business Directory" (CBD), headquartered in San Diego, now publishes directories in that city and in Pomona Valley, Tucson and Phoenix, Arizona, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, and Chicago, Illinois. Churches and religious bookstores distribute the directories free, gaining no financial reward for their cooperation in what is essentially a money-making venture. The purpose of the directories is to earn profits for the publisher and advertisers by encouraging Christians to patronize Christian-owned businesses. The frontispiece in each of the directories states, "We ask the Christian community to patronize these Christian advertisers — and any other Christian people they are able to locate."

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"The unseemly scramble by key members of the incoming [Carter] administration to resign from their 'exclusive' private clubs would have been amusing if the sneaking thought didn't occur that members of the outgoing administration were probably eager to get back into theirs." — Kirk Douglas in *ADL Bulletin*

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Federally chartered banks in six New England states are permitted to pay interest on checking accounts — but this is prohibited everywhere else.

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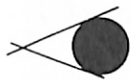
Autopsies in a government study on 400 coal miners showed that every coal miner with more than 21 years in the mines had black lung disease. Recognizing the problem, Congress passed a bill in 1969, signed by President Nixon, which gave black lung benefits (about 12% of what a working coal miner makes) to many people. Some of those who got the benefits when this program started should not have received them. The program went too far in its generosity. But, four years ago the law was changed, and the coal companies were given financial responsibility for paying the benefits, except for a small number of cases in which the federal government would pick up expenses because the responsible coal company had gone out of business. Since that time, 106,000 coal miners have applied for black lung benefits and as of this writing, exactly 138 — that's not an error, 138 — have been granted benefits by the companies. Congressman Paul Simon (D., 24th Ill. District)

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The 1976 election exhibited a new trend in voter behavior, according to early findings of a study being conducted by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. In contrast to 1972, when partisan politics reached a new low, party identification reemerged as an important factor in the Presidential election of 1976. In addition, an unusually large number of voters remained undecided until the last minute. The partisan aspects of the campaign gave President Carter a large edge. In 1972, 40 percent of the people who classified themselves as Democrats defected to Nixon. This group, classified by the center as those with weak political affiliation, returned in large measure to the Democratic fold. Twenty-five percent of all "weak" Democrats voted for Ford in 1976. The center director, Arthur Miller, noted: "In the campaign, Carter did an excellent job of obfuscating the issues. If he had pushed clear-cut, liberal Democratic issues, the outcome could have paralleled 1972 because of the set of conservative Democrats willing to defect on the basis of issues. The outcome of the race, despite its closeness, may indicate the best run Democratic campaign in a long time."

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# FOCUS

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## Letters

### THE 15-FOOT PADDLEFISH BARRIER

F/M: You'd think that anything that has traversed the uphill climb of a million years on earth could jump 15 feet to keep going . . .

But Missouri's paddlefish, facing a highly uncertain future, find themselves caught between the dam that is and the dam that will be.

An existing power dam, 15 feet high, built in 1928, is keeping both the paddlefish in the Osage River at Osceola from going farther upstream to explore possible spawning areas and Department of Conservation biologists from completing a study to see if there is any way to save Missouri's Osage River paddlefish.

Annually some 15,000 to 20,000 anglers snag for paddlefish in the Osage, largest such fishery in the free world. In 1976, the anglers took 3,600 fish, averaging more than 30 pounds each. The largest fish snagged in Missouri weighed 104 pounds.

When Harry S. Truman Reservoir is finished, it will flood all known spawning beds of paddlefish. Artificial spawning is an uncertain art at present, highly expensive, and there are no present facilities adequate to maintain the population.

"Our philosophy always has been to let Mother Nature do the work if possible," says Joe Dillard, chief of fisheries research for the Conservation Department.

"It costs less and is more satisfactory . . . the fish adapt better when they're spawned naturally."

Although fish occasionally top the Osceola Dam, owned by Missouri Public Service Co., during high water, the headwaters of the Osage, especially up into the Marais des Cygnes where possible spawning beds lie, remains largely unexplored by the fish.

"We have only one more spawning season before the Truman Reservoir closes," says Kim Graham, one of the two biologists working on the fish. "The fish spawn between mid-April and early May, depending on water temperature and levels. They go upstream and spawn during high water which carries the hatched fish down into Lake of the Ozarks. It takes about a week for the eggs to hatch."

Graham says the present Osage paddlefish is in excellent health. "There are good numbers of all age groups and fish size is constant. It's been that way for eight or nine years and all indications are of a very healthy situation."

In the spring of 1973, high water attracted great numbers of paddlefish to the dam at Osceola. "We could see hundreds of them blocked by the dam," Graham says. "I'm sure they would have gone on upstream if the dam had not been there."

The dam generates some electricity but has been scheduled for removal as a navigation hazard by the Corps of Engineers which is building Truman Reservoir. The question has been how quickly should the dam come out.

"We're down to this last unknown on our study," Dillard says.

The Department of Conservation goal is to maintain the quality of a fishery that is both popular and the nation's best. Paddle-fishing in other rivers blocked by dams has declined over the years, probably because the dams flooded spawning areas or prevented the fish from going upstream to spawn.

Originally, the Conservation Department asked that the dam be removed in 1974 so there would be at least two spawning seasons to study before the Truman Reservoir closed.

But the Corps and Missouri Public Service Commission have not agreed on who should pay the cost of the dam removal. Delays in the actual removal now have cut the study time to one spawning season, and then only if the dam is removed immediately.

Removal should be before Feb. 1, so that the silt load behind the dam can be moved downstream and spawning areas cleaned before the spring migration starts. If the dam is not removed soon enough, it could affect spawning in the spring, fisheries biologists say.

Shirley Wyllie  
Eldon, Missouri

### COMING INTO FOCUS

In Chicago, the Alliance to End Repression, a coalition of 50 groups, has been organizing around their anti-Red Squad class-action suit, as well as other criminal justice issues. For information about their work, contact the Alliance at 22 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605, 312-427-4064, Richard Gutman,

or their Chicago Police Surveillance Litigation and Education Project at 407 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60605, 312-663-5392. Other cities are also starting to build local coalitions already. They are participating in a national effort to end government spying for political purposes.

\* \* \*

Fair housing organizations throughout the country have received more than \$1 million in community development funds from their local governments. The funds are being used for activities ranging from counseling services to auditing local real estate brokers. Fair housing groups should apply to their local governments to obtain such funds. For example, the Housing Information Center in Kansas City, Missouri, received \$93,870. The Center conducts counseling, investigates discrimination complaints and foreclosures, and has programs in landlord-tenant relations, house maintenance and management, and financial management.

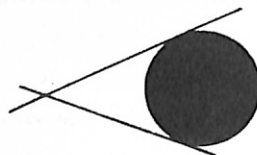
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In a study entitled *The Cost of Crime in Illinois*, as reported in the October 1976 issue of *Illinois Business Review*, UIUC Economics Professor Robert W. Gillespie found that in an economic sense, crime does pay. Gillespie found that in 1973 Illinois victims bore 65% of the burden of crime (9% for violent crime and 56% for property crime; these figures do not count the "costs" of psychological stress), taxpayers bore 34% and criminals bore only 1%. The ratio of total property stolen (and neither recovered nor destroyed) to the costs borne by convicted criminals is about 100 to 1.

If stolen property can be cashed in at 25% of its market value, the ratio of "profitability" is still 25 to 1. White collar crime pays even better because of the higher amounts stolen and lower average sentences.

Gillespie's analysis of the criminal justice system (CJS) shows that local government foots over half the bill, because police services account for 2/3 of the system's cost.

If the causes, rather than symptoms, of crime could be alleviated, not only would the enormous costs to victims be avoided, but many of the costs to taxpayers could be turned into economic benefits. For example, for each person hired to rehabilitate slum housing, rather than to walk a beat and apprehend criminals, pure economic gain could be realized (one person receives a salary plus more housing is available on the market). Recognizing that criminality and the criminal justice system constitutes a vicious circle, local government cannot immediately convert all its policemen to carpenters et al. However, a beginning could and should be made by all levels of government to tackle the root causes of crime.





### *Feds control water in Missouri*

We must confess that we are not overly upset about the failure of the Missouri General Assembly to fund the enforcement of the Federal Safe Drinking Water Act. Although the legislation was designed for enforcement at the state level, the lack of funding placed responsibility with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency as of June 24.

While some of Missouri's Water Supply Program will remain under the administration of the state's Department of Natural Resources, the EPA will now, according to the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, "take responsibility for public notification, issuance of variances and exemptions, check sampling, record keeping, turbidity analysis, enforcement activities and possibly some monitoring." Moreover, violations will now be prosecuted in federal rather than state courts. If anything, enforcement will be stricter and to this we can only say hallelujah.

### *The anti-big government myth*

The anti-Washington hysteria has somewhat subsided. No doubt it will be resurrected come next election.

The question usually comes down to whose ox is to be gored. In response to a suggestion by Station WMCL in McLeansboro, Illinois, that Congress pass a law forbidding the hiring of additional federal employees or the filling of vacancies due to retirement, resignation or termination, Illinois Congressman Paul Simon asks: do we really want to reduce the number of coal mine inspectors, or personnel in the Social Security Administration, where the processing of checks is already too slow, or the number of FBI agents? Simon maintains that the idea of tremendous growth of the federal government in recent years is a myth. He points out that in 1961 there were 5 million federal employees — exactly the same as in May, 1976! Without the Defense Department and the Postal Service, the federal government employs just over one million persons, not an outlandish figure compared to the U.S. Population of 220 million whom they serve. In comparison, state and local government has more than doubled in the last 15 years, from 5.5 million employees in 1960 to 11.7 million in 1975; and much of that growth consists of school teachers.

### *The St. Louis airport controversy*

The day may come that Missouri business interests will regret the decision to postpone construction of a new airport on the Illinois side. This reversal should not be chalked up as a "win" for Missouri interests. It may be more accurate to consider it as a loss for both states.

In the face of native pride, commercial interests, and pressure from Jefferson City, downtown St. Louis interests favor the location of a new St. Louis airport in the Waterloo, Illinois, area. They realize that St. Louis would be left dangling at one extreme if an expanded airport is located miles away in St. Louis County. Business-wise, employment-wise, tax-wise, St. Louis residents would benefit little, if any, from a Missouri-side airport even further away than Lambert. An Illinois airport, however, would place the city in the very center of two airports; or, if only the Illinois one would survive, it would be logical for travellers to stay and spend their money in the city rather than further out in Clayton or other St. Louis county hotels, which is less an area of need than downtown.

Some Missourians greeted the prospect that funds would be spent on the Illinois side — one of the poorest tracts in the country with an extremely high rate of unemployment — as if they were diverted to some Arabic sheikdom. For Missourians, apparently, the idea that employment and growth across Ole Man River should be considered in the spending of billions of dollars, is an outrage.

It is refreshing and commendable that a few Missouri civic leaders spoke up for the Illinois site. Among them were John Fox, Walter Malloy, and Howard F. Baer.

Weighing the immense needs of this area, we are not convinced that a new airport deserves to be considered top priority. But if it is to be built, Illinois surely is the logical choice.

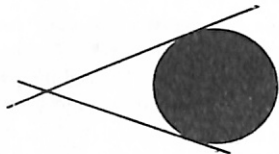
### *Dissent on abortion*

Following are excerpts of the dissent by Justice Thurgood Marshall from the recent Supreme Court decision that federal or state programs do not have to fund all abortions.

"It is all too obvious that the governmental actions in these cases, ostensibly taken to 'encourage' women to carry pregnancies to term, are in reality intended to impose a moral viewpoint that no state may constitutionally enforce. . . . Since efforts to overturn those decisions have been unsuccessful, the opponents of abortion have attempted every imaginable means to circumvent the commands of the Constitution and impose their moral choices upon the rest of society. . . . The present cases involve the most vicious attacks yet devised. The impact of the regulations here falls tragically upon those among us least able to help or defend themselves. As the court well knows, these regulations inevitably will have the practical effect of preventing nearly all poor women from obtaining safe and legal abortions.

"The enactments challenged here brutally coerce poor women to bear children whom society will scorn for every day of their lives. Many thousands of unwanted minority and mixed race children now spend blighted lives in foster homes, orphanages and 'reform' schools. . . . Many children of the poor will sadly attend second-rate segregated schools. . . . And opposition remains strong against increasing AFDC benefits for impoverished mothers and children, so that there is little chance for the children to grow up in a decent environment. . . . I am appalled at the ethical bankruptcy of those who preach a 'right to life' that means, under present social policies, a bare existence in utter misery for so many poor women and their children.

"Against the brutal effect that the challenged laws will have must be weighed the asserted state interest. The court describes this as a 'strong interest in protecting the potential life of the fetus. . . .' Yet in [earlier abortion cases] the court expressly held that any state interest during the first trimester of pregnancy, when 88 per cent of all abortions occur. . . . was wholly insufficient to justify state interference with the right to abortion. . . . I cannot comprehend how it magically becomes adequate to allow the present infringement on rights of disfavored classes. If there is any state interest in potential life before the point of viability, it certainly does not outweigh the deprivation or serious discouragement of a vital constitutional right of especial importance to poor and minority women."



## THE CITIES

### The makings of an anti-machine coalition

BY SHELDON GARDNER

The Democratic Primary in the special election to fill the vacancy in the Office of Mayor of Chicago created no surprising upsets, but it does furnish us with some information as to what post-Daley Chicago will be like.

Daley's death ended the era of the great city bosses. The disaster predicted with his demise failed to occur; the city did not come apart. Daley did not allow for growth in his shadow and no heir apparent was in sight. Acting Mayor Michael A. Bilandic, Democratic nominee for Mayor, is a weak leader who had been a colorless alderman and was little known except for the fact that he came out of the Mayor's ward, the 11th, the bastion of political power and patronage. Both the power of the ward and of Daley's sons were behind his selection. Bilandic, a Croatian, was the first non-Irish mayor since Anton Cermak was elected in the early 1930s.

The Democratic machine realized that it needed unity to keep control. It quickly repudiated Alderman Frost, a black alderman, and the logical choice for acting mayor. Racism and pragmatism worked against a black as Mayor. Machine blacks used to racism quickly swallowed their pride and closed ranks with their white counterparts.

Daley had been both the chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party and Mayor, but the transition of this much power to Bilandic was not tenable. So the power was split. Cook County Board President George Dunne, a contemporary of Daley, was elected county chairman. Like Daley, Dunne is completely dedicated to the organization. His selection pacified certain elements of the party especially those who wished to keep some power away from the Bilandic faction. Unlike Daley, George Dunne is a very gentle and soft-spoken man who rules not as an absolute monarch, but by seeking consensus of the party faithful. Democratic liberals like Senator Adlai E. Stevenson, the Young Turks like Vydrolak, and the oldtimers like Marzullo joined together to protect the machine as their common power base. As both the followers and

opponents of Daley contemplated their strengths and weaknesses, the regulars closed ranks. The labor leaders and businessmen, the Democratic liberals and blue collar conservatives all accepted the machine as the true church and joined in accepting Bilandic as its properly anointed new pope. Bilandic deliberately moved from caretaker mayor to party leader, to party nominee. A new power structure was established with new inner and outer circle of members.

After the machine regrouped, it went to work to deliver the vote. The hard core vote in Chicago is 110 votes per precinct. Since the average precinct has anywhere from 7 to 20 jobholders this base total has no relationship to the merits of the candidate, but represents the friends, neighbors, and relatives of the precinct captain. With over three thousand precincts, a vote of 330,000 is the basic machine strength. Bilandic's low primary total of approximately 350,000 votes was almost entirely based upon the hardcore support for the machine.

Bilandic could not hope to match Daley's huge victories. Daley could play on racial fears and captured votes of many older residents who were normally Republican, but always voted for him. Machiavelli-like he manipulated many factions. But Bilandic captured little of Daley's non-machine votes. Ironically, in light of the fears of black power, after the death of Daley, black opposition to the machine virtually collapsed.

None of the black leaders, including Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, could be induced to run. Metcalfe, long a machine loyalist, broke with Daley over his racism. After Daley's attempt to destroy Metcalfe in his race for both Congressman and Democratic Ward Committeeman disastrously failed, Metcalfe became the outstanding black leader in Chicago.

After a brief furor of support for Frost, most of the black organization workers were kept in line by patronage. Politically indifferent, the black community fielded a weak candidate in the Democratic primary. State Senator Harold Washington carried five wards with only 11% of the Democratic primary vote and ran a poor third.

Washington started out with numerous problems. He had been a loyal Daley stalwart with few breaks from the machine. Indeed, he had worked against Metcalfe. A more serious political problem grew out of Washington's failure to file income tax returns, which resulted in a federal conviction upon Washington's nolo contendere plea. The press and his primary opponents never allowed his campaign to reach the issues as he remained on the defensive responding to attacks based upon his conviction. Another problem was Washington's two suspensions of his right to practice law.

Together with a poorly run and poorly

funded campaign, these problems doomed Washington to an incredibly poor showing. He ran better than the 1975 black mayoral candidate, State Senator Richard Newhouse. He ran well in the middle-class black areas and the integrated areas of Hyde Park and Kenwood, but ran only fairly well in the poor black areas, especially those in the West Side, and very poorly in almost all white areas. The influential Independent Voters of Illinois endorsed Washington, but the endorsement had great difficulty in influencing the votes of the independent community outside of the Kenwood, Hyde Park and other South Side areas.

Overwhelmed by the myth of Daley's power, opponents of the machine were too impotent to organize effectively like the independent black leadership. Independent whites sought in vain to run a quality candidate.

The independents had supported Bill Singer against Daley in 1975. Singer spent a huge sum of money and ran a fine campaign, but was crushed by the machine. Singer was looked upon as the most credible challenger to Bilandic, but after preempting the race from any other independent, he issued a statement that it was too soon after the death of Daley to run a campaign against his successor.

Singer thus bowed out in a fashion that many believed to be a halfway endorsement of Bilandic, which deeply disappointed many independent and other anti-machine people. In an interview held two days before the Special Primary Election, Singer abandoned his leadership role and announced that he would be a candidate in the mayoral election of 1979. It now appears, he may be the big loser of this campaign without having been a candidate.

The Republican Party in Chicago, as in most cities, is out of step with urban reality. Speculation rose that Richard Ogilvie, a former Republican governor, would run for mayor. However, his polling convinced him that he would not win and he withdrew. This so demoralized the already lethargic Republican Party that its candidate, Alderman Dennis Block, was given little chance of even a credible showing. Block had been considered a regular Democratic by many before his aldermanic race as a Republican backing and ran as an independent. Once elected, he worked with the regular Democrats and backed their machine candidate for Democratic Ward Committeeman. This alienated the independents and he then sought to rebuild his Republican and independent support. His failure to get Republican financial support and IVI and IPO endorsements reflected the view that his candidacy was futile. Anything over 30% would have been considered a victory for Block and a defeat for Bilandic. He received less than 20%.

Former Cook County States Attorney



Edward Hanrahan, who conducted the Black Panther raid, a perennial candidate seeking support from both Irish and other white backlash voters, received only 4% of the votes. His search for public vindication of his conduct of the Black Panther raid seems doomed to failure.

Oddly enough, the only ray of sunshine for the anti-machine folks came from a strange source. Alderman and former Congressman Roman Pucinski broke with the machine.

He draws his basic strength from Polish, Jewish and independent voters. Pucinski had much greater strength in the white independent areas than did Washington. He received large majorities in the heavily Polish northwest side and ran a close second in the Jewish and independent areas. He became the only viable non-machine candidate in the race carrying 5 Polish and 2 Jewish wards.

Although Bilandic won the Democratic Primary with slightly under 51% of the vote, Pucinski's 32% of the vote is a problem Bilandic must deal with. Pucinski carried the North Side over Bilandic. Bilandic's victory rested heavily on the dozen or so strong machine run wards. Only in 9 wards did he carry in excess of 60% of the vote. Had Pucinski become viable in the black areas and had he received the backing of the Field newspapers and IVI, he might have won. The machine can lose, if Poles, blacks and independents form a coalition.

While the restructured machine has new leadership, its old parts are still intact. It knows it must prepare against a possible future coalition. The unions still look to the mayor for support. State street and the business community still look to the mayor for a favorable political climate. The legal community looks for friendly ears in the court and judgeships. The Democratic liberals in Congress, who care little about reform back home, need the machine to win. Both blacks and backlash whites are controlled by patronage. Nevertheless, Bilandic's slight majority in the primary with a low turnout of 100 votes per precinct shows him much weaker than Daley.

The opposition has been increasing its strength, electing both black and white independents. They have defeated a number of Daley's choices for state and county offices.

Institutional changes initiated by reformers have lessened the machine's power. Project LEAP, an anti-vote fraud group, together with other reform groups and the media have eliminated one hundred to two hundred thousand ghost voters. The Shakman doctrine holding patronage unconstitutional has been affirmed in part by the United States Supreme Court. Lawyers and others have finally rebelled against political control of the judiciary and assured the merit selection of judges. The Assessor's

Office, after a scandal that resulted in a number of Federal Court convictions, has become less political. The end of the Walker era has also helped independents. Governor Dan Walker was so disliked by independents that all candidates who ran with him in the 1976 Democratic Primary for state and county offices did poorly in Cook County.

The strong showing by Pucinski, the poor showing of Washington, and the decline of Singer had led to talk of a Polish-black-independent coalition. If Pucinski returns to the machine fold, State Representative Michael Holewinski, an IVI award-winning northwest side Pole with good relationships with the west side black community, is ready to take on the mayoral race in 1979. It could be an exciting year.

## New owners for Kansas City Star

BY GEORGE KENNEDY

Traditions have died hard at The Kansas City Star. The monumental William Rockhill Nelson, who founded the paper in 1880, shunned executive suites in favor of a plain desk in the newsroom; so did his best-known and equally mammoth successor, Roy A. Roberts; and so have their successors down to 1977. Another tradition has dictated that the chief officer should rise by way of the news department, not through advertising or circulation, and so it was with the incumbent, W. W. Baker, and his three immediate predecessors. Finally, the Kansas City Star Company clung for fifty years to an unusual form of ownership, with all stock held by employees or retirees, and the company run by an all-employee board of directors.

These traditions came to a startlingly abrupt end when, on January 19, 1977,

The Kansas City Times (the morning, and larger, paper, which Nelson bought in 1901) announced the impending sale of the company. What had happened to tradition? The simple answer was that the Star Company was running a little short of money and that the buyer, Capital Cities Communications, Inc., was offering a great deal — \$125 million, or enough to make the fifteen to twenty employees and retirees holding at least 1 percent of the stock into what news stories called "instant millionaires."

The papers were certainly not going broke, but they faced problems. In the first nine months of 1976, the company had made only about 3.2 percent on its revenues of \$135.6 million. Heavy demands for capital were in prospect — for conversion to cold-type printing and further computerization, for installation of pollution-control equipment at the Flambeau Paper Company, a subsidiary, a cost that by itself might run to as much as \$14 million. In 1976, the Star Company had undertaken long-term borrowing for the first time.

Why should monopoly papers in a thriving city find themselves in a pinch? Some of the causes lay in the arrangements made fifty years in the past, when the Star Company was last up for sale. William Rockhill Nelson's philanthropy, which gave his adopted city a museum of art and a \$12 million trust fund to stock it, did not extend to his employees. Although he built a paper notable for supporting civic virtue and for supplying first-rate talent to other papers, his arrangements for perpetuating it did not extend beyond the lives of his immediate family. When his daughter died in 1926, the company went up for sale. The employees, led by Nelson's son-in-law, filed the winning bid of \$11 million.

Thereafter, Star and Times employees were offered periodic opportunities to buy



True titans: Roy A. Roberts (left) and William Rockhill Nelson

shares in their own papers. Outsiders were excluded. Retirees at first were permitted to keep stock until they died, when the company bought it back; more recently, the rules have required employees to relinquish half their stock on retirement. To help employees buy, the company lent them money at rates as low as 1 percent, but the Securities and Exchange Commission required higher rates when the stock's book value rose, and the last two offerings did not sell out. Meanwhile, the company had to make heavy repurchases as big stockholders from the early years retired or died. At the time of the papers' sale, there were only 535 stockholders, including retirees, although the company had 2,000 employees.

Aside from its peculiarities of ownership and style, the company did not operate much differently from other commercial newspapers. It helped maximize profits by holding down pay to modest levels.

And yet there was a pinch. Did the newsroom-based officials of the company have insufficient management expertise to run a newspaper in the 1970s? Some employees have charged that the sale was the outcome of poor management; when asked about this charge, Ben B. Schiffman, financial editor, financial vice-president, and the oldest active editorial employee, declined to answer. Would he call the management efficient? "I was," he says. President Baker, more mildly, replies: "That's a judgment for others to make. The Star is a healthy company, a healthy paper."

The purchaser, sometimes known colloquially as CapCities, evidently approached the papers without solicitation, although a New York Times story has pointed out that Schiffman's son is an employee of E. F. Hutton & Company, Inc., which handled the transaction. The offer was for \$139.54 a share, more than double book value. The Star's board of eight members, owning 11 percent of the stock among them, recommended acceptance. There was no general meeting of stockholders, and opposition remained disorganized.

The Star Company will obviously change the shape of CapCities. The company started as a broadcasting group, but now holds one other major paper combination, in Fort Worth, as well as dailies in Pontiac, Michigan, and in Belleville, Illinois, and the string of Fairchild trade periodicals (Women's Wear Daily and others). Although the conglomerate has been far more profitable than the Star Company (it earned more than 16 percent on its revenues in the first nine months of 1976), its total sales are only fractionally larger than those of the Kansas City papers. The acquisition all but doubles the size of its business.

An early suspicion of staffers has been that the new owners will try to make the

Kansas City papers come up to CapCities standards of profitability, and that this could mean closing the less prosperous of the papers, Nelson's own Star. Baker, who continues as president and editor, says he does not expect any such move. But there have been changes. A production expert has already come in to help improve printing quality. Capital Cities has also imported a new chairman from Fort Worth.

It may be a symbol of the new era that he did not take a desk in the newsroom, but an office on the first floor, with the business and advertising department.

*George Kennedy is a member of the University of Missouri faculty of journalism. This article is reprinted with permission from the Columbia Journalism Review.*

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# U.S. SENATE STRUCTURE REORGANIZED

The U.S. Senate reorganization made the most extensive changes in that chamber's committee system since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. In the U.S. House, few changes were made. However, a select committee was established to coordinate energy legislation coming from other House committees.

An important change in the joint committee structure was made when both chambers agreed to let the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy die. This panel was the only joint committee with the power to write legislation. It had been a strong advocate of atomic development since its creation after World War II.

As the 95th Congress got underway, there were 323 committees and subcommittees. This number was down slightly from the 358 panels in existence at the start of the 94th Congress two years earlier. The drop was due largely to the Senate committee reorganization.

- 21 Senate committees with 112 subcommittees.
- 29 House committees with 152 subcommittees.
- 4 joint committees with 5 subcommittees.

Adoption of the committee reorganization resolution (S Res 4) on Feb. 4, 1977, marked the culmination of a year-long process of re-examination of the Senate's com-

mittee system. The Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System, chaired by Adlai E. Stevenson III (D Ill.), had recommended late in 1976 that the number of committees be cut in half and that the number of committees and subcommittees on which a senator could serve be sharply reduced.

Consideration by the Rules Committee and on the Senate floor resulted in considerable dilution of the panel's recommendations, however.

Following are highlights of changes made by S Res 4:

- Reduced to 25 from 31 the number of Senate committees, with a further reduction to 21 committees at the end of the 95th Congress.
  - Designated as major committees the following: Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry; Appropriations; Armed Services; Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Commerce, Science and Transportation; Energy and Natural Resources; Environment and Public Works; Finance; Foreign Relations; Governmental Affairs; Human Resources; Judiciary; Budget, beginning with the 96th Congress.
  - Designated as minor committees the following: Rules and Administration; Veterans' Affairs; Aging; Intelligence;
- continued on page fourteen*

## Index of Senators' and Representatives' Committee Assignments

### SENATORS

#### Illinois

**Percy:** Foreign Relations, Governmental Affairs, Select Nutrition and Human Needs, Special Aging.

**Stevenson:** Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Commerce, Science, and Transportation; Ethics, chairman; Select Intelligence.

#### Missouri

**Danforth:** Commerce, Science and Transportation; Finance, Governmental Affairs.

**Eagleton:** Appropriations, Governmental Affairs, Human Resources.

### REPRESENTATIVES

#### Illinois

**Anderson:** Rules, Select Energy.

**Annunzio:** Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, House Administration.

**Collins:** District of Columbia, Government Operations, International Relations.

**Crane:** Ways and Means.

**Derwinski:** International Relations, Post Office and Civil Service.

**Erlenborn:** Education and Labor; Government Operations.

**Fary:** Public Works and Transportation.

**Findley:** Agriculture, International Relations.

**Hall:** Judiciary, Veterans' Affairs.

**Hyde:** Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs; Judiciary.

**McClory:** Judiciary.

**Madigan:** Agriculture, Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

**Metcalf:** Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Post Office and Civil Service.

**Michel:** Minority Whip, Appropriations.

**Mikva:** Ways and Means.

**Murphy:** Rules, Select Narcotics Abuse and Control.

**O'Brien:** Appropriations.

**Price:** Armed Services, chairman.

**Railsback:** Judiciary, Select Narcotics Abuse and Control.

**Rostenkowski:** Select Energy, Ways and Means, Joint Internal Revenue Taxation.

**Russo:** Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Select Aging, Select Outer Continental Shelf, Small Business.

**Shibley:** Appropriations.

**Simon:** Budget, Education and Labor.

**Yates:** Appropriations.

#### Missouri

**Bolling:** Rules, Select Energy, Joint Economic, chairman.

**Burlison:** Appropriations.

**Clay:** Education and Labor, Post Office and Civil Service.

**Coleman:** Agriculture, District of Columbia.

**Gephardt:** Ways and Means.

**Ichord:** Armed Services, Small Business.

**Skelton:** Agriculture, Small Business.

**Taylor:** Post Office and Civil Service, Public Works and Transportation.

**Volkmer:** Agriculture, Judiciary.

**Young:** Public Works and Transportation.

# Adlai Stevenson: From Senate back benches

They make an odd pair:

The highbrow liberal scion of a political family that first achieved national prominence nearly 100 years ago and the orphan conservative who played his fiddle in a succession of campaigns in hard-bitten West Virginia and then put himself through law school while serving in the U.S. Senate.

But Adlai E. Stevenson III (D Ill.) and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D W.Va.) have already proven to be a workable combination in action on two of the major pieces of legislation to pass the Senate this year: the emergency natural gas bill (S 474—PL 95-2) that Byrd sponsored and Stevenson managed on the floor, and the substantial committee reorganization resolution (S Res 4) that Stevenson sponsored and Byrd guided through a gauntlet of hostile committee chairmen.

## New Assignment

Now Byrd has tapped Stevenson to take what could be one of the most difficult assignments of the 95th Congress: chairman of the Senate Ethics Committee.

The panel will be charged with implementing and then enforcing the new Senate ethics code, a code the Senate adopted largely because of a personal lobbying effort by Byrd.

Because of a rule requiring rotation of committee membership, Stevenson will chair the panel for only two years. But the actions of the committee during that time will establish the procedures for implementation of the code and set key precedents for future committee actions.

With public attention focused on how Congress cleans its own house, Stevenson can expect a good deal of scrutiny as he begins his task. But his job will not be an easy one.



ADLAI E. STEVENSON III

The ethics code passed the Senate only after heated debate. All three Republicans appointed to the six man Ethics Committee supported efforts to kill key provisions designed to limit senators' outside earned income. One committee member, John G. Tower (R Texas), called the bill a "hoax," and another, Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R Conn.), said that if tested in court it would "fall flat on its duff for constitutional reasons." The third Republican is Harrison Schmitt (N.M.). Schmitt and Weicker voted against passage.

The measure is also complex, and will require a battery of accountants, many regulations and explanations, and a large number of advisory opinions to implement.

## Stickiest Part: Enforcement

But the stickiest part will come when and if the panel is faced with a need to enforce the code.

Senators in the past have been notoriously loath even to investigate their colleagues, and the question of whether the new ethics

code will work any better than the old one will be answered only when the Ethics Committee is confronted with a situation in which it must decide whether to recommend punishment of a colleague.

With a potentially divided committee, the burden of working to form a consensus will fall on the chairman.

"I'm determined I'm going to make this thing work," Stevenson said of his new assignment in a recent interview with Congressional Quarterly.

Asked whether or not the committee would really be willing to investigate a colleague if faced with allegations of wrongdoing, he said: "I don't think that there is going to be any escaping it."

Stevenson brought a commitment to an ethics code with him when he came to Washington as a freshman senator in 1970. While in the Illinois state legislature one of his principal tasks had been to draft an ethics code for that body.

## Flexibility Needed

But Stevenson's commitment to an ethics code is tempered by his belief that many of the allegations made against public officials are overblown or designed to gain political advantage. In order to ensure that the rights of the accused are protected along with the rights of the public, Stevenson said that a strong ethics code must be balanced by a flexible enforcement system.

During the long Senate debate on the code, Stevenson opposed all amendments designed to weaken the standards of conduct. He sponsored an amendment to tighten the restrictions by banning the use of political funds for official expenses, a practice he called the last vestige of the political slush fund.

But at the same time, Stevenson insisted that the enforcement mechanism of the code be modified to allow the Ethics Com-



## . . . to prominent role as ethics panel chairman

mittee greater flexibility in dealing with individual cases. He persuaded the committee that drafted the code to allow the Ethics Committee the freedom to work out informal settlements of complaints rather than forcing it to choose between exoneration and formal punishment.

### Ideal vs. Practical

This split between the ideal and the practical reflected in his actions on the ethics code has been a hallmark of Stevenson's political personality throughout his career and served him well as he treaded the tightrope of Illinois politics during the 1960s and 1970s. There he has had to balance the concerns of liberal, suburban constituents against the interests of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's political machine.

His actions in the Senate have been similar. His voting record is consistently liberal (he voted with the conservative coalition only 15 per cent of the time during the 94th Congress according to a Congressional Quarterly tabulation).

Nevertheless, unlike some of his fellow liberals elected during the 1970s, Stevenson has maintained cordial relations with many conservative members of his party, most importantly Byrd.

Stevenson's straddling of the ideological fence emerged during the Chicago mayoral campaign when he supported Michael A. Bilandic for mayor and declared "the outlook for the city has never been brighter."

Mayor Daley's death in December and Byrd's rise to the majority leadership in the Senate a month later gave Stevenson both the freedom and the opportunity to move from the back benches of the Senate to a more prominent role.

"Byrd found that he could trust Stevenson during the debate over the committee reform bill,"

said one close observer of the Senate. "He is a liberal, but basically he is a leadership kind of guy," said one of Stevenson's colleagues, "and that is what Byrd needed."

### Dual Nature

The dual nature of Stevenson's personality baffles some of his colleagues. "You never really know what he's going to do," said one senator who sits on one of Stevenson's committees.

His style, low key and almost professorial, also seems out of place in a Senate where bombast is the staff of life. "He is kind of a loner,"

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*"The Senate is only competent to act if the public trusts us to act."*

—Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III

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hard to figure out," said one senator who has observed Stevenson closely since he came to the Senate.

The riddle of Stevenson's personality has caused some concern among backers of the ethics code about how he might handle specific cases. "Schmitt and Weicker are likely to be obstructionists," said one senator who was instrumental in developing the new code, "and I'm not sure that Stevenson won't be with them."

### Support for Code Predicted

Others, familiar with Stevenson's background in the Illinois legislature where he fought for adoption of an ethics code, disagree.

David Cohen, president of Common Cause, the lobbying organization that worked for adoption of the Senate ethics code, said that Stevenson "is not the sort of senator who is going to wink at the code or who is going to run away from it."

Stevenson himself adds somewhat to this confusion when he speaks about the code. On the one hand he endorsed nearly all its major provisions, and expressed a preference for even tighter standards in some areas—such as a total ban on speaking fees and other honoraria.

On the other hand, he expressed reservations about the impact the code might have on the Senate. He worried that the restrictions on outside earned income might lead to "a Senate of full time professional lawmakers, as if the Senate were some kind of utility whose only purpose was to grind out laws day after day."

"This may be putting the last nail in Thomas Jefferson's coffin," he recently told a reporter. "He wouldn't have had any trouble with having farmers in the Senate."

"I can't feel very enthusiastic about what we are doing," he went on. "It is not going to guarantee any more faithful service and it's not going to guarantee that the government is going to be any more innovative or bold."

But he nevertheless insisted that the code had to be adopted in order to restore public confidence in the Senate because, he said, "the Senate is only competent to act if the public trusts us to act."

Such seemingly conflicting sentiments make any prediction about how Stevenson might act difficult at best. But as the Ethics Committee begins to implement the code and to make the thousands of small decisions that will really shape the new standards of conduct, it is apparent that whatever decisions Stevenson makes will very likely reflect the wishes and have the backing of Majority Leader Byrd. And that alliance may be the most important factor in shaping the code in its fledgling years.

—By Thomas P. Southwick

# Group Ratings: Liberals and

Liberal and conservative pressure groups alike found little to cheer about in the inability of the Democratic Congress and Republican White House to work together in 1976.

Liberal groups—represented by the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) and the National Farmers Union (NFU)—were frustrated by the Democrats' inability to garner the two-thirds majority necessary to override President Ford's vetoes of key Democratic legislation.

Conservative groups—represented by the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States—praised the cohesiveness of Republicans and southern Democrats in defeating the override attempts.

Pressure group dissatisfaction with Congress was reflected in the decline in the number of high ratings—80 per cent or more—which the groups gave to members. Nearly all of the major pressure groups gave fewer high marks to members of Congress in 1976 than in 1975.

## Changing Patterns

In the House, liberal strength, as measured by group ratings, dropped precipitously. In 1975, 113 members—all but three of them Democrats—received ADA scores of 80 per cent or better. In 1976, only 78 House members, all but one of them Democrats, scored that high.

Those rated 80 or above by COPE also declined sharply, to 155 in 1976 from 192 the year before. Again, nearly all those receiving high COPE ratings were Democrats; with only three Republicans in 1976 receiving ratings of 80 per cent or more.

Conservative pressure groups also gave generally lower marks to House members in 1976 than in the preceding year, but awarded more high scores to conservative southern Democrats. Overall, the ratings indicated a moderation in the voting records of many Republicans but an increased conservatism by enough Democrats to torpedo the concept of a veto-proof Congress.

The number of high ACA scores (80 or above) declined to 90 from 97, but the number of Democrats reaching that level increased to 25 from 19. The decline as measured by the Chamber of Commerce was even more—to 85 in 1976 from 100 the year before—but again there was an increase in high-scoring Democrats, up to 20 from 16.

Voting patterns, as indicated by group ratings, were less clear in the Senate. ADA scorers of 80 or more dropped to 17 in 1976 from 25 the previous year. At the same time, ACA high scorers rose to 26 from 15, giving the appearance of a conservative tide in the Senate. However, COPE high scorers increased over 1975, while the Chamber's showed a decline.

The conflicting trends in Senate scores showed the danger of trying to draw detailed conclusions about voting trends in Congress based on pressure group ratings. In 1976 there were 688 roll-call votes in the Senate, 661 in the House. None of the major pressure groups used more than 28 votes from either chamber in compiling its ratings.

## Mixed Expectations

At the beginning of the 94th Congress there had been speculation that the large influx of Democratic freshmen would produce a liberal, veto-proof Congress. But of the 10 first-term senators, only two compiled ADA scores above 80 in 1976, and of the 92 first-term House members, just 30 received ADA ratings of 80 or more last year. All were Democrats.

Most of the class of 1974 easily survived their first re-election test, but representatives of ADA and COPE did not anticipate a more liberal trend in 1977. Instead, ADA and COPE expect the class of 1974 to continue their caution in voting for new programs that involve increased taxes and to

## Cabinet Members' Ratings

The three Democratic House members named to President Carter's Cabinet received rather high ratings for 1976 from liberal groups, but only one scored 100 per cent. He was Andrew Young (Ga.), the new ambassador to the United Nations, who was given a perfect rating by the National Farmers Union (NFU).

Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland (Minn.) received his highest score of 92 per cent from the NFU, with comparatively low ratings of 75 from the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and 68 from the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Brock Adams (Wash.) had a modest 70 per cent from the ADA and an 83 from the NFU. COPE gave the Transportation Secretary a 77 per cent rating.

Besides scoring perfectly from the NFU, Young received a 90 per cent rating from COPE and 80 per cent from ADA.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States (CCUS) and the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) gave the three Cabinet members low scores, with Young receiving zeroes from both groups.



# Conservatives are dissatisfied

None of the five groups is connected with a political party. Since the ratings are based entirely on floor votes in the House and Senate, each group warns that a member should not be judged merely on these scores alone. They stress that committee votes and individual initiative are

not reflected in the scores and that, therefore, they cannot be considered a total measure of a member's liberalism or conservatism.

—By James R. Berger  
and Rhodes Cook

## How Special-Interest Groups Rate Senators

**ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)** — The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with or entered a live pair for the ADA position on 20 selected votes of 1976. The percentages were compiled by ADA. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

**COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education)** — The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position on 20 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

**NFU (National Farmers Union)** — The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced for the NFU position on 12 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

**CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)** — The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced for the Chamber's position on 9 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

**ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)** — The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with the ACA position on 27 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

## How Special-Interest Groups Rate Representatives

**ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted in accordance with or entered a live pair for the ADA position on 20 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

**COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted or was paired in favor of the COPE position on 23 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

**NFU (National Farmers Union)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced for the NFU position on 12 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

**CCUS (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted with, was paired for or announced for the Chamber's position on 16 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

**ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)** — The percentage of the time each representative voted in accordance with the ACA position on 28 selected votes of 1976. Failure to vote does not lower the scores.

	A D A	C O P E	N F U	C C U S	A C A
<b>SENATE</b>					
<b>ILLINOIS</b>					
Stevenson	60	88	83	0	4
Percy	45	64	64	11	10
<b>MISSOURI</b>					
Eagleton	60	88	70	0	8
Symington	45	69	71	0	20
<b>REPRESENTATIVES</b>					
<b>ILLINOIS</b>					
Metcalfe	55	91	100	6	0
Murphy	55	91	92	27	20
Russo	55	74	75	7	26
Derwinski	5	14	25	67	75
Fary	50	91	92	19	19
Hyde	0	26	27	74	70
Collins	70	90	100	0	4
Rostenkowski	50	91	91	13	14
Yates	90	87	100	13	11
Mikva	85	83	83	13	12
Annunzio	55	91	92	32	15
Crane	5	14	9	94	96
McClory	20	5	9	76	63
Erlenborn	5	10	17	83	60
Hall	65	91	67	25	15
Anderson	50	28	33	54	29
O'Brien	15	18	17	76	64
Michel	5	9	9	94	81
Railsback	25	32	42	57	50
Findley	35	15	27	80	56
Madigan	20	18	17	76	68
Shipley	40	80	73	47	48
Price	60	96	92	25	14
Simon	80	81	82	13	0
<b>MISSOURI</b>					
Clay	75	88	91	9	0
Symington	55	90	91	25	5
Sullivan	40	65	80	20	39
Randall	10	60	64	75	60
Bolling	75	95	100	17	7
Litton <sup>1</sup>	53		83		
Taylor	0	13	25	100	96
Ichord	5	14	17	80	96
Hungate	65	65	92	40	21
Burlison	50	61	67	57	43

<sup>1</sup> Litton died Aug. 3, 1976 and was rated by only two groups.

# Attendance by area legislatures above average

For the second straight year, Congress in 1976 set a record for the number of votes taken during a session.

But members' attendance during those votes dropped to an average of 86 per cent, from a record 91 per cent in 1975. The decrease in voting participation was due primarily to members' absences as they campaigned for election.

Voting participation is the closest approach to an attendance record for Congress, but it is only an approximation.

On that basis, House members had a better attendance record than senators, and Republicans took part in voting slightly more often than did Democrats in both the House and Senate. Two senators and six House members had perfect scores for voting participation in 1976.

A total of 1,349 recorded votes was taken in the House and Senate, 135 more than in 1975. There were 688 votes taken in the Senate, 86 more than in 1975, and 661 in the House, 49 more than last year.

As they have in every year since 1962, House members voted more often than senators. The average representative voted 87 per cent of the time, the average senator 83.

In the House, southern Republicans led members from all other regions, with a 91 per cent participation score. In the Senate, eastern Democrats had the highest score — 89 per cent.

Only two senators — Democrats James B. Allen of Alabama and William Proxmire of Wisconsin — answered every one of the 688 votes held during the year. Proxmire extended a string of consecutive votes that began in 1966, when he last missed one, and reached a record 4,846 by the end of 1976. Another Democratic senator, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, managed a 99 per cent score in 1976.

There were six perfect scores in the House in 1976, established by Democrats Charles E. Bennett of Florida, Melvin Price of Illinois, William H. Natcher of Kentucky and Republicans Charles E. Grassley of Iowa, Charles Thone of Nebraska and Clarence E. Miller of Ohio. Natcher has not missed a vote since entering Congress in 1954, and has voted a record 5,385 consecutive times.

Seventeen members of Congress voted less than 50 per cent of the time in 1976. Only three senators scored less than 50 percent in 1976.

## U.S. SENATE STRUCTURE REORGANIZED

*continued*

Small Business; Joint Economic Committee; Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

- Changed the name of the Committee on Standards and Conduct to the Ethics Committee, with a rotating membership of six senators serving six-year terms.

- Limited each senator to membership on two major committees and one minor committee.

- Limited each senator to membership on three subcommittees of each major committee except the Appropriations Committee, and to two subcommittees on each minor committee.

- Prohibited any senator from chairing a total of more than four committees and subcommittees, three after the 95th Congress.

- Provided that minority members of each committee would be entitled to a proportional share of the committee's staff and resources.

- Directed the establishment of a centralized computer system to schedule the meetings of Senate committees and subcommittees so as to avoid conflicts.

House Democrats did not repeat the major revolt against the seniority system for selecting committee chairmen that had taken place at the beginning of the 94th Congress. No incumbent full committee chairmen were deposed, and new chairmen were selected on the basis of seniority.

Adoption by the House on March 2 of a strict ethics code led to the establishment March 9 of a new Select Committee on Ethics. Chaired by Richardson Preyer (D N.C.), the committee was charged with the responsibility of implementing and writing into statutory law the ethics code provisions. The ethics provisions approved March 2 were amendments to the House rules and thus lacked the force of criminal sanctions for violations.

*Page Fourteen*

## House: Voting Participation

a. Voting Participation, 1976. Percentage of 661 recorded votes in 1976 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

b. Voting Participation, 94th Congress. Percentage of 1,273 recorded votes in 1975 and 1976 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

## Senate: Voting Participation

a. Voting Participation, 1976. Percentage of 688 roll calls in 1976 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay."

b. Voting Participation, 94th Congress. Percentage of 1,290 roll calls in 1975 and 1976 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay."

### REPRESENTATIVES a b

#### ILLINOIS

Metcalf	71	74
Murphy	89	93
Russo	90	93
Derwinski	94	94
Fary	96	80*
Hyde	96	97
Collins#	82	80
Rostenkowski	79	84
Yates	97	96
Mikva	89	90
Annuzio	93	90
Crane	86	88
McClory	94	92
Erlenborn	90	89
Hall	96	98
Anderson	76	80
O'Brien	95	91*
Michel	89	89
Railsback#	87	86
Findley	87	88
Madigan#	88	90
Shipley	89	88
Price	100	96
Simon	93	94

### REPRESENTATIVES a b

#### MISSOURI

Clay	70	80
Symington	58	71
Sullivan	71	78
Randall	80	86
Bolling	81	87
Litton <sup>2</sup>	45	69*
Taylor	97	95*
Ichord	92	92
Hungate	95	93
Burlison	96	98

### SENATORS a b

#### ILLINOIS

Stevenson	90	90
Percy	88	87

#### MISSOURI

Eagleton	90	90
Symington#	60	70

# Northern Democrats boost conservatives

Despite somewhat less frequent alliances, Republicans and southern Democrats joined forces more effectively in 1976 than in 1975. Though congressional Democrats continued to outnumber Republicans by a 2-to-1 margin, the conservative coalition boosted its success rate to 58 per cent during 1976 from an all-decade low of 50 per cent the year before.

Perhaps influenced by election year politics, the coalition picked up considerable support from Republicans and from Democrats outside of the South. In the Senate, for example, eastern Republicans voted with the coalition 40 per cent of the time in 1976 — a major departure from past trends.

As a result of its improved performance, the coalition left its stamp on many important pieces of legislation — particularly in the areas of defense spending and energy. The coalition successfully fought off most attempts to delete funding for a number of new weapons (including the B-1 bomber) desired by then President Ford, and sustained vetoes of measures dealing with milk price support increases and electric car research.

## Stronger Showings

During the second session, Republicans and southern Democrats teamed up on 177 Senate votes and 143 House votes — or an average of 24 per cent of the time. The coalition formed somewhat more often in the Senate — on approximately 26 per cent of all votes — compared with 22 per cent in the House. The same forces were brought together on 28 per cent of the votes in each chamber during 1975.

Vice president Walter F. Mondale (D Minn.) was rarely part of the coalition, joining it on only 3 per cent of the votes on which it appeared in 1976 (5 per cent for the two sessions of the 94th Congress combined). Mondale opposed the coalition's position less frequently during the election year, however, largely because of greater absences. In 1976 he voted against the coalition 56 per cent of the time, compared with an average of 72 per cent for the 1975-76 period.

## House: Conservative Coalition

**a. Conservative Coalition Support, 1976.** Percentage of 143 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1976 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

**b. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1976.** Percentage of 143 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1976 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

**c. Conservative Coalition Support, 94th Congress.** Percentage of 313 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1975 and 1976 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

**d. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 94th Congress.** Percentage of 313 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1975 and 1976 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

REPRESENTATIVES	a	b	c	d
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Metcalfe	1	64	2	72
Murphy	29	59	27	66
Russo	34	59	32	64
Derwinski	66	25	70	22
Fary	31	65	22*	56*
Hyde	85	13	85	13
Collins	6	71	8	71
Rostenkowski	22	57	22	65
Yates	13	87	10	87
Mikva	9	82	7	83
Annunzio	31	65	29	59
Crane	87	4	89	4
McClory	69	24	70	22
Erlenborn	73	17	73	16
Hall	29	68	21	77
Anderson	43	36	50	35
O'Brien	79†	18†	77*	15*
Michel	85	10	83	10
Railsback	61	31	62	28
Findley	59	34	62	30
Madigan	68	22	70	23
Shipley	57	31	54	35
Price	23	77	24	72
Simon	15	82	16	79

## MISSOURI

Clay	5	62	4	75
Symington	21	39	26	50
Sullivan	38	41	35	50
Randall	60	22	65	24
Bolling	13	68	19	69
Litton <sup>2</sup>	24†	28†	32*	43*
Taylor	96	3	95	3
Ichord	87	7	83	10
Hungate	45	52	39	53
Burlison	48	50	48	50

## SENATORS a b c d

## MISSOURI

Eagleton	13	78	15	77
Symington	14	37	17	45

## ILLINOIS

Stevenson	20	71	15	79
Percy	43	40	36	49

## Senate: Conservative Coalition

**a. Conservative Coalition Support, 1976.** Percentage of 177 conservative coalition votes in 1976 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

**b. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1976.** Percentage of 177 conservative coalition votes in 1976 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

**c. Conservative Coalition Support, 94th Congress.** Percentage of 343 conservative coalition roll calls in 1975 and 1976 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

**d. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 94th Congress.** Percentage of 343 conservative coalition roll calls in 1975 and 1976 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.



# CONGRESS

The following U.S. Senate and U. S. House Votes were cast during the Second Session of the 94th Congress.

## KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN DESCRIPTION OF BILLS

D: Democrat  
R: Republican  
HR: House Bill  
S: Senate Bill  
H Res: House Resolution  
ND: Northern Democrats  
SD: Southern Democrats  
HJ Res: House Joint Resolution

## KEY TO SYMBOLS USED IN VOTING COLUMNS

Y: Voted for  
✓: Paired for  
+: Announced for  
N: Voted against  
X: Paired against  
-: Announced against  
P: Voted "present"  
•: Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest  
?: Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

# SENATE

## 94th CONGRESS

1] **HR 8532. Antitrust Amendments.** Kennedy (D Mass.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Hruska (R Neb.) amendment, to the Hart-Scott substitute, to delete Title V of the substitute, which required large companies to notify the federal government of planned mergers and to give the government the opportunity to hold up potentially illegal mergers. Motion to table agreed to 58-31: R 13-22; D 45-9 (ND 37-0; SD 8-9), June 8, 1976.

2] **HR 13367. Revenue Sharing Extension.** Fountain (D N.C.) amendment, to the Brooks (D Texas) substitute version, to delete provisions 1) providing for supplemental assistance to local governments based on need, 2) requiring state governments to report on activities intended to modernize local government operations, 3) expanding the Davis-Bacon Act wage requirements, and 4) modifying additional nondiscrimination requirements. Adopted 233-172: R 127-6; D 106-166 (ND 43-144; SD 63-22), June 10, 1976. (The Brooks substitute, which added all the committee amendments to the version of the bill approved by the Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and Human Resources, subsequently was adopted by voice vote as amended.)

3] **HR 13367. Revenue Sharing Extension.** O'Hara (D Mich.) amendment, to the Brooks (D Texas) substitute, as amended, to apply the Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage requirements to all state and local government construction projects rather than only to those involving 25 per cent or more of revenue sharing funds. Rejected 174-218: R 11-119; D 163-99 (ND 143-40; SD 20-59), June 10, 1976.

4] **S 2477. Lobbying Disclosure.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to require logging of all communications with the executive branch by persons seeking to influence administrative decisions. Rejected 35-50: R 6-26; D 29-24 (ND 23-13; SD 6-11) June 14, 1976.

5] **S 2477. Lobbying Disclosure.** Stafford (R Vt.) amendment to require reporting of the name of the recipient of lobbying communications. Rejected 23-61: R 7-27; D 16-34 (ND 13-22; SD 3-12), June 14, 1976.

6] **S 2477. Lobbying Disclosure.** Hathaway (D Maine) amendment to delete from the bill the exemption for communications by a group with the senators and representative from the state/district in which its principal place of business was located. Rejected 17-61: R 5-24; D 12-37 (ND 12-21; SD 0-16), June 15, 1976.

7] **S 2872. Energy Data Collection.** Haskell (D Colo.) amendment to create an Office of Energy Information and Analysis within the Federal Energy Administration with power to collect data from energy producing companies and provide Congress with the information. Adopted 46-45: R 5-31; D 41-14 (ND 33-4; SD 8-10), June 15, 1976.

8] **S 2872. Energy Price Controls.** Bartlett (R Okla.) amendment to end federal price controls on oil from stripper wells producing an average of 10 barrels or less per day. Adopted 61-29: R 33-2; D 28-27 (ND 11-26; SD 17-1), June 16, 1976.

9] **S 2872. Energy Price Controls.** Montoya (D N.M.) amendment to end federal price controls on increased oil production achieved by applying enhanced recovery methods to existing wells after Feb. 1, 1976. Adopted 58-35: R 30-5; D 28-30 (ND 12-28; SD 16-2), June 17, 1976.

10] **S 3201. Public Works Jobs.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize funding through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for job-creating state and local public works projects, \$1.25-billion for anti-recessionary aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$700-million for waste water treatment programs. Adopted 70-25: R 13-22; D 57-3 (ND 41-1; SD 16-2), June 16, 1976.

11] **HR 10162. Tax Shelter Revisions.** Bentzen (D Texas) motion to table, and thus kill, the Hathaway (D Maine) amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the best approach to tax shelters included a limitation on artificial losses (LAL). Motion to table agreed to 53-41: R 30-4; D 23-37 (ND 12-30; SD 11-7), June 33, 1976.

12] **HR 10162. Tax Loop Hole Revision.** Haskell (D Colo.) amendment to provide that individual deductible losses in limited partnerships cannot exceed the amount the individual has actually invested or is obligated to invest. Adopted 48-44: R 9-24; D 39-20 (ND 32-10; SD 7-10), June 22, 1976.

13] **HR 14237. Tobacco Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Appeal of the ruling of the

chair sustaining a point of order by Talmadge (D Ga.) against the Moss (D Utah) amendment to disallow the expenditure of any funds appropriated by this act for 1) carrying out a price-support program for tobacco, 2) paying export subsidies for tobacco, 3) advertising, inspecting or grading tobacco, or 4) financing the sale of tobacco in any foreign country. Ruling of the chair sustained 76-18: R 24-9; D 52-9 (ND 34-9; SD 18-0), June 23, 1976.

14] **HR 10612. Tax Loop Hole Revision.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to limit personal tax deductions in one year for interest on nonbusiness loans to \$20,000, plus investment income. Rejected 41-51: R 0-34; D 41-17 (ND 35-6; SD 6-11), June 23, 1976.

15] **HR 14239. Busing.** Pastore (D R.I.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Dole (R Kan.) amendment, to prohibit the Justice Department from participating in legal actions that sought to employ busing to promote desegregation. Motion to table agreed to 55-39: R 17-17; D 38-22 (ND 36-7; SD 2-15), June 24, 1976.

16] **HR 10612. Tax Revision.** Long (D La.) motion to table, and thus kill, a Mondale (D Minn.) substitute amendment, to the Finance Committee amendment, to increase the minimum tax rate to 15 per cent from 10 per cent, provide an exemption of \$10,000 from preference income subject to the tax with no deduction for regular taxes paid, expand the list of preference income items and apply all changes to corporations as well as individuals. Motion rejected 40-50: R 24-9; D 16-41 (ND 4-36; SD 12-5), June 24, 1976. (The Finance Committee provision increased the minimum tax rate to 15 per cent, provided an exemption for the higher of either \$5,000 or the regular taxes paid, expanded the list of preference income and applied the changes only to individuals.)

17] **S 3105. Utilities.** Haskell (D Colo.) amendment to require that private utilities pay half of any cost overruns that increase the total cost of the federal government's Clinch River breeder reactor demonstration project to more than \$2-billion. Rejected 31-50: R 6-22; D 25-28 (ND 23-14; SD 2-14), June 25, 1976.

18] **S 3105. Nuclear Safety.** Haskell (D Colo.) amendment to require the Nuclear Regulatory Agency to make a safety ruling before granting a construction permit for the Clinch River breeder reactor. Rejected 30-53: R 7-22; D 23-31 (ND 22-16; SD 1-15), June 25, 1976.

19] **S 3105. Nuclear Weapons.** Gravel (D Alaska) amendment to direct the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) to stop producing fissionable nuclear weapons materials; to require the Secretary of Defense to report to Congress on the number of U.S. nuclear weapons, their potential yield and the amount of plutonium and uranium used; and to give either house of Congress an opportunity to veto any increase proposed by the President in the number of nuclear weapons deployed or in their overall yield. Rejected 5-77: R 0-27; D 5-50 (ND 5-34; SD 0-16), June 25, 1976.

20] **HR 14232. Abortion Funds.** Packwood (R Ore.) amendment to delete from the bill a section barring the use of funds to pay for or to promote abortions. Adopted 57-28: R 20-14; D 37-14 (ND 27-9; SD 10-5), June 28, 1976.



21) **HR 10612. Maximum Tax Revision.** Mondale (D Minn.) substitute amendment, to the Finance Committee amendment, to eliminate a \$30,000 exemption for preference income in calculating the maximum tax and to expand the types of income subject to the maximum tax. Adopted 66-17: R 21-14; D 45-3 (ND 36-1; SD 9-2), June 28, 1976. (The Finance Committee amendment, as amended, subsequently was adopted by voice vote. The original committee version would have eliminated the \$30,000 exemption, expanded the types of income and also lowered the maximum tax to 50 per cent, from up to 70 per cent, on unearned investment income up to the lesser of \$100,000 or personal net income.)

22) **HR 10612. Maximum Tax Revision.** Long (D La.) motion to table, and thus kill, part one of the Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to repeal the 50 per cent maximum tax on earned income, thus raising it to 70 per cent. Motion to table agreed to 59-24: R 33-3; D 26-21 (ND 15-21; SD 11-0), June 28, 1976. (Part two of the amendment, to lower the tax rate on the lowest income bracket to 13 per cent from 14 per cent, subsequently was withdrawn.)

23) **HR 14232. Race Data By Schools.** Helms (R N.C.) amendment to prohibit HEW from denying funds to schools that failed to classify or assign teachers or students by race or national origin and that failed to maintain records of the race or national origin of teachers or students. Rejected 27-59: R 14-17; D 13-42 (ND 2-38; SD 11-4), June 29, 1976.

24) **HR 14232. Safety Regulations.** Brooke (R Mass.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Allen (D Ala.) amendment to prohibit the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) from issuing first instance citations for other than repeated or willful violations of the OSHA regulations. Motion to table agreed to 58-36: R 16-19; D 42-17 (ND 40-3; SD 2-14), June 29, 1976.

25) **HR 10612. Oil Tax Revision.** Long (D La.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Hathaway (D Maine) amendment to recapture excess deductions allowed for intangible drilling costs in oil and gas properties. Motion to table agreed to 57-33: R 28-6; D 29-27 (ND 16-26; SD 13-1), June 29, 1976.

26) **HR 10612. Foreign Tax Revision.** Packwood (R Ore.) amendment to require the Commerce Secretary to report to Congress within one year of enactment of the bill on the effect on U.S. employment of a deferral of the tax on unremitted earnings of foreign corporations controlled by U.S. shareholders. Adopted 85-3: R 32-1; D 53-2 (ND 39-2; SD 14-0), June 29, 1976.

27) **HR 10612. Foreign Tax Revision.** Long (D La.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Hartke (D Ind.) amendment, to the Finance Committee amendment, to phase in by 1982 an end to the deferral of taxes on unremitted earnings and profits of U.S.-controlled foreign subsidiaries. Motion to table rejected 41-46: R 29-4; D 12-42 (ND 3-37; SD 9-5), June 29, 1976. (The Hartke amendment, as amended, subsequently was tabled.)

28) **S 2150. Solid Waste Authorization.** Hatfield (R Ore.) amendment to require a mandatory five-cent deposit on all beer and soft drink cans and bottles within five years, and to ban "pop top" beverage cans within one

year. Rejected 26-60: R 9-24; D 17-36 (ND 16-22; SD 1-14), June 30, 1976.

29) **S Res 469. Energy Action No. 3.** Johnston (D La.) motion to table the Jackson (D Wash.) motion to proceed to consider the resolution expressing the disapproval of the Senate to the administration's energy action No. 3 removing price and allocation controls from certain heating oil and diesel fuel. Tabling motion agreed to 52-32: R 31-3; D 21-29 (ND 9-26; SD 12-3), June 30, 1976.

30) **Brown Nomination.** Confirmation of President Ford's nomination of General George S. Brown to a second term as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Confirmed 57-34: R 22-12; D 35-22 (ND 25-17; SD 10-5), July 1, 1976. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

31) **HR 10612. Tax Deferral Revision.** Hathaway (D Maine) amendment to limit the percentage of overseas income of a Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC) that was eligible for tax deferral benefits. Rejected 29-57: R 0-34; D 29-23 (ND 24-15; SD 5-8), July 1, 1976.

32) **HR 10612. Tax on Military Sales.** Nelson (D Wis.) amendment to make foreign sales of military products by a Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC) ineligible for tax deferral benefits. Rejected 32-52: R 2-31; D 30-21 (ND 26-13; SD 4-8), July 1, 1976.

33) **HR 10612. Gas Tax Revision.** Stevenson (D Ill.) amendment to repeal the existing deduction for state and local gasoline taxes. Rejected 38-54: R 16-20; D 22-34 (ND 16-23; SD 6-11), July 20, 1976.

34) **S 3201. Public Works Jobs.** Passage, over the President's July 6 veto, of the bill to authorize funding through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for job-creating state and local public works projects, \$1.25-billion for anti-recessionary aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$700-million for waste water treatment programs. Passed 73-24: R 15-21; D 58-3 (ND 43-1; SD 15-2), July 21, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (65 in this case) is required to override a veto. A "nay" vote opposed the President's position.

35) **HR 10612. Child Care Revision.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to make tax credits for child care costs refundable for persons whose credits exceeded their tax liability. Adopted 71-21: R 23-12; D 48-9 (ND 40-1; SD 8-8), July 21, 1976. (Credit could be claimed for 20% of child care costs up to maximum of \$400 for one dependent under 15 or \$800 for 2 or more dependents.)

36) **HR 10612. Tax Exemptions.** Hathaway (D Maine) amendment to substitute a \$175 tax credit for the existing \$750 deduction for personal exemptions. Rejected 18-70: R 2-31; D 16-39 (ND 16-23; SD 0-16), July 21, 1976. (Amendment's effect would raise tax on over \$17,000 income and lower tax on under \$17,000.)

37) **S 2212. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) Authorization.** Biden (D Del.) amendment to extend the LEAA authorization to Sept. 30, 1979, instead of to Sept. 30, 1981. Rejected 45-48: R 7-27; D 38-21 (ND 33-8; SD 5-13), July 22, 1976.

38) **HR 10612. Foreign Trust Tax Revision.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to change to May 21, 1974, from May 29, 1974, the date on which the tax free status would end for foreign trusts held by U.S. citizens, so as to eliminate special interest benefits. Adopted 45-42: R 9-26; D 36-16 (ND 30-8; SD 6-8), July 26, 1976.

39) **HR 10612. Tax Challenge Revision.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to allow judicial challenges to Internal Revenue Service rulings by persons other than those directly involved in the ruling. Rejected 39-56: R 8-28; D 31-28 (ND 28-13; SD 3-15), July 27, 1976.

40) **HR 10612. Tax Disclosure Revision.** Haskell (D Colo.) amendment to require the IRS to give 20 days notice to any taxpayer before seeking a court order allowing disclosure of that taxpayer's returns. Rejected 46-50: R 16-21; D 30-29 (ND 24-17; SD 6-12), July 27, 1976.

41) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Bentsen (D Texas) amendment to reduce the performance warranty on auto emission control systems to 18 months or 18,000 miles from five years or 50,000 miles. Rejected 45-51: R 16-22; D 29-29 (ND 12-28; SD 17-1), July 28, 1976.

42) **HR 10612. Tax Deduction on Travel.** Long (D La.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to disallow as a deductible business expense the additional cost of first-class travel fare over coach fare. Motion to table agreed to 56-37: R 34-3; D 22-34 (ND 9-29; SD 13-5), July 28, 1976.

43) **HR 14262. Defense Funding for Minuteman.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to defer until Feb. 1, 1977, expenditures of funds for procurement of 60 additional Minuteman III missiles. Rejected 40-52: R 9-27; D 31-25 (ND 29-10; SD 2-15), Aug. 2, 1976. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.

44) **HR 14262. Defense Reduction.** Eagleton (D Mo.) amendment to reduce total appropriations in the bill by \$1-billion. Rejected 27-63: R 5-31; D 22-32 (ND 21-16; SD 1-16), Aug. 2, 1976.

45) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Scott (R Va.) amendment to repeal federal authority to regulate air quality in areas where air is purer than required by primary and secondary national standards (nondegradation policy). Rejected 17-74: R 13-23; D 4-51 (ND 0-38; SD 4-13), Aug. 3, 1976.

46) **S 3219 Clean Air Act Amendments.** Moss (D Utah) amendment to delete from the bill provisions requiring protection of pristine air (nondegradation) and direct a National Commission on Air Quality to report within one year on the overall impact of the proposed provisions. Rejected 31-63: R 14-23; D 17-40 (ND 4-36; SD 13-4), Aug. 3, 1976.

47) **HR 10612. Tax Deductions on Auto Use.** Leahy (D Vt.) amendment to provide that, with certain exceptions, deductions for business use of automobiles would not be allowed unless the automobiles met fuel economy standards. Rejected 30-57: R 5-28; D 25-29 (ND 22-16; SD 3-13), Aug. 3, 1976.



48) **HR 10612. Energy Tax Revision Breaks.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to delete from the bill a section granting tax breaks for producers of energy from geothermal steam. Rejected 24-50: R 5-23; D 19-27 (ND 15-17; SD 4-10), Aug. 3, 1976. Kennedy contended that tax breaks would benefit energy companies without guaranteeing additional energy production.

49) **S 319. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Allen (D Ala.) amendment to suspend the provisions requiring nondegradation of air quality in clean regions for one year while a study of their impact is completed. Rejected 23-59: R 10-19; D 13-40 (ND 3-34; SD 10-6), Aug. 4, 1976.

50) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Hart (D Colo.) amendment to require that pollution from non-major sources be considered in computing additional increments of pollution to be permitted in clean air regions. Rejected 26-65: R 7-28; D 19-37 (ND 18-20; SD 1-17), Aug. 4, 1976.

51) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Hatfield (R Ore.) amendment to expand the "Class I" nondegradation category, where the least amount of additional air pollution would be allowed, to include national monuments of more than 10,000 acres that are managed by the National Park Service. Rejected 35-56: R 9-26; D 26-30 (ND 24-14; SD 2-16), Aug. 4, 1976.

52) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Hart (D Colo.) amendment to require auto manufacturers to comply with all statutory emission standards in 1979 instead of 1980. Rejected 30-61: R 6-29; D 24-32 (ND 22-16; SD 2-16), Aug. 5, 1976.

53) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Hart (D Colo.) to retain the statutory .4 grams per mile standard for nitrogen oxides instead of relaxing it to 1.0 grams per mile. Rejected 33-58: R 7-29; D 26-29 (ND 23-14; SD 3-15), Aug. 5, 1976.

54) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Packwood (R Ore.) amendment to ban the use of fluorocarbons in aerosol containers after Jan. 1, 1978, unless the Environmental Protection Agency finds the chemicals pose no significant risk to public health or welfare. Rejected 28-64: R 8-28; D 20-36 (ND 18-20; SD 2-16), Aug. 5, 1976.

55) **S 3219. Clean Air Act Amendments.** Scott (R Va.) amendment nullifying federal authority to require pollution controls in areas where air is cleaner than required by national primary and secondary air standards. Rejected 20-70: R 16-20; D 4-50 (ND 0-37; SD 4-13), Aug. 5, 1976.

56) **HR 10612. Passage of Tax Revision.** Passage of the bill to extend or make permanent the 1975 tax cuts for business and individuals, liberalize the estate and gift tax laws, provide tax credits for college tuition payments, tighten up on tax shelters, provide tax breaks for railroads, shipbuilders, life insurance companies, domestic international sales corporations, producers of alternative energy sources and other industries, and to make certain other changes in the U.S. tax laws. Passed 49-22: R 22-5; D 27-17 (ND 16-14; SD 1103), Aug. 6, 1976.

57) **HR 14262. Reject Missile Deletion.** Hart (D Colo.) amendment to delete \$75-million for procurement of 360 non-nuclear Lance missiles. Rejected 15-62: R

0-31; D 15-31 (ND 15-15; SD 0-16), Aug. 9, 1976.

58) **HR 14262. Reject Carrier Deletion.** Leahy (D Vt.) amendment to delete \$350-million for long lead-time procurement of a fifth nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Rejected 35-50: R 4-29; D 31-21 (ND 28-7; SD 3-14), Aug. 9, 1976. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.

59) **HR 14262. Hospital Ship Funding.** Abourezk (D S.D.) amendment to appropriate \$10-million for refitting, operations and maintenance of the hospital ship Sanctuary for humanitarian aid missions. Rejected 42-46: R 7-27; D 35-19 (ND 29-7; SD 6-12), Aug. 9, 1976.

60) **HR 12987. Passage of Public Service Jobs Extension.** Passage of the bill to extend through Sept. 1977 the authorization under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act for the emergency public jobs program and, depending on the resulting amount of funding, to create additional jobs for long-term unemployed workers and recipients of public assistance. Passed 67-11: R 19-9; D 48-2 (ND 34-0; SD 14-2), Aug. 10, 1976. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.

61) **HR 8603. Postal Service Subsidy.** Buckley (Cons-R N.Y.) amendment to permit private carriers to deposit mailable matter in letter boxes. Rejected 25-64: R 17-18; D 8-46 (ND 3-33; SD 5-13), Aug. 24, 1976.

62) **HR 14232. Use of Funds for Abortions.** Helms (R N.C.) motion that the Senate recede from its amendment deleting a House amendment to ban use of any funds in the bill to pay for, promote or encourage abortions and that the Senate concur in the amendment. Rejected 35-53: R 14-19; D 21-34 (ND 9-28; SD 12-6), Aug. 25, 1976.

63) **S 2657. Education Amendments.** Byrd (W. Va.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Roth (R Del.) amendment to repeal a provision of the 1974 Education Amendments Act that stipulated that legislative restrictions on school busing orders should not interfere with court enforcement of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. Motion to table agreed to 46-38: R 12-19; D 34-19 (ND 31-6; SD 3-13), Aug. 26, 1976.

64) **S 2657. Education Amendments.** McClure (R Idaho) amendment to limit the anti-sex discrimination enforcement powers of the government to cover only programs or activities that were curriculum or graduation requirements at an educational institution. Rejected 28-52: R 17-12; D 11-40 (ND 3-33; SD 8-7), Aug. 27, 1976.

65) **S 2657. Education Amendments.** McClure (R Idaho) amendment to limit the anti-sex discrimination enforcement powers of the federal government to cover only those institutions that receive direct federal aid. Rejected 30-50: R 16-13; D 14-37 (ND 4-32; SD 10-5), Aug. 27, 1976.

66) **S 3084. Liberalized Export Administration Act.** Passage of the bill to require that export controls for national security purposes be determined on the basis of a nation's present and potential relationship to the United States rather than whether or not it was a Communist country; to discourage and in some cases to prevent U.S. firms from complying with Arab boycotts against Israel, and to identify foreign ownership in

U.S. corporations. Passed 66-12: R 19-11; D 47-1 (ND 33-1; SD 14-0), Aug. 27, 1976.

67) **HR 13372. New River Power Project.** Passage of the bill to designate a 26.5 mile stretch of the New River in North Carolina as part of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, thus invalidating a Federal Power Commission license for the construction of a hydroelectric power project. Passed (and thus cleared for the President) 69-16: R 23-10; D 46-6 (ND 32-3; SD 14-3), Aug. 30, 1976.

68) **HR 8532. Antitrust Amendments.** Motion to invoke cloture, cut off debate, on the Byrd (D W. Va.) motion to agree to a substitute antitrust measure that would authorize state attorney generals to bring *parens patriae* antitrust suits on behalf of citizens, require large companies to notify the government of planned mergers and strengthen the government's antitrust investigatory powers. Motion to invoke cloture agreed to 63-27: R 14-19; D 49-8 (ND 38-1; SD 11-7), Aug. 31, 1976. (A three-fifths majority of the entire Senate membership (60) is required to invoke cloture.)

69) **S 2710. Water Pollution Control Amendments.** Tower (R Texas) amendment to restrict the federal government's authority to regulate pollution caused by dredge and fill operations in the nation's wetlands and streams. Adopted 39-38: R 18-10; D 21-18 (ND 5-26; SD 16-2), Sept. 1, 1976.

70) **S 2710. Water Pollution Control Amendments.** Second vote on the Tower (R Texas) amendment to restrict the federal government's authority to regulate pollution caused by dredge and fill operations in the nation's wetlands and streams. Amendment rejected 39-40: R 19-11; D 20-29 (ND 4-27; SD 16-2), Sept. 1, 1976.

71) **HR 14238. Federal Salary Increase, Fiscal 1977.** Taft (R Ohio) motion to table, and thus kill, the Allen (D Ala.) motion to reconsider the vote by which the Senate had previously adopted the Taft (R Ohio) amendment to allow payment of a salary increase for federal employees other than members of Congress. Motion to table agreed to 55-19: R 21-8; D 34-11 (ND 25-4; SD 9-7), Sept. 7, 1976. (The Taft amendment had been previously adopted by voice vote.)

72) **HR 14238. Congressional Salary Increase, Fiscal 1977.** Senate Appropriations Committee amendment to delete from the bill a provision that as amended by the Taft (R Ohio) amendment (see previous vote), banned salary increases for members of Congress. Rejected 25-46: R 11-17; D 14-29 (ND 12-16; SD 2-13), Sept. 7, 1976.

73) **HR 14238. Salary Increases, Fiscal 1977.** Stevens (R Alaska) amendment to allow salary increases recommended by the President and approved by Congress as a result of a recommendation of the so-called quadrennial commission to take effect. Adopted 41-28: R 15-15; D 26-13 (ND 19-4; SD 7-9), Sept. 8, 1976.

74) **HR 15194. Public Works Jobs Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage of the bill to make appropriations through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for state and local job-creating public works projects, \$1.25-billion in "countercyclical" aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$700-million for waste water treatment programs.



Passed 60-14; R 16-12; D 44-2 (ND 29-1; SD 15-1), Sept. 10, 1976. The President had not requested any funding for the programs.

75) **HR 13367. Revenue Sharing Extension.** Fannin (R Ariz.) amendment to remove the Davis-Bacon Act union wage provisions from the extension of the 1972 revenue sharing act. Rejected 15-62; R 13-18; D 2-44 (ND 0-31; SD 2-13), Sept. 13, 1976.

76) **HR 13367. Basis Age, Handicap Discrimination.** Gravel (D Alaska) amendment to prohibit discrimination in the use of revenue sharing funds on the basis of age and handicapped status. Adopted 60-15; R 19-11; D 41-4 (ND 29-0; SD 12-4), Sept. 13, 1976.

77) **HR 13367. Civil Rights Attorney Fees.** Gravel (D Alaska) amendment to provide that the prevailing party in a civil suit brought to enforce civil rights compliance in the use of revenue sharing funds could be awarded reasonable attorneys fees. Adopted 40-35; R 16-14; D 24-21 (ND 23-6; SD 1-15), Sept. 13, 1976.

78) **HR 13367. Ban Religious Discrimination.** Gravel (D Alaska) amendment to apply prohibitions and exemptions on religious discrimination in the civil rights acts of 1964 and 1968 to the revenue sharing program. Adopted 59-16; R 19-11; D 40-5 (ND 28-1; SD 12-4), Sept. 13, 1976.

79) **S 3664. Illegal Corporate Payments Ban.** Church (D Idaho) amendment to require disclosure of payments made by U.S. corporations in connection with overseas business. Rejected 29-58; R 4-31; D 25-27 (ND 22-12; SD 3-15), Sept. 15, 1976.

80) **HR 14846. State Taxation.** Symington (D Mo.) motion to table, and thus kill, the McIntyre (D N.H.) amendment to prohibit state taxation of persons who worked in a federal enclave and who were residents of another state that did not have an income tax. Motion agreed to 65-19; R 27-4; D 38-15 (ND 21-14; SD 17-1), Sept. 15, 1976.

81) **HR 8800. Electric Vehicles Research.** Passage, over the President's Sept. 13 veto, of the bill to authorize \$160-million in fiscal 1977-82 and \$60-million in loan guarantees for a research and demonstration project aimed at promoting the use of electric vehicles by individuals, businesses and government. Passed (and thus overriding the President's veto and enacting into law) 53-20; R 13-14; D 40-6 (ND 32-2; SD 8-4), Sept. 17, 1976.

82) **HR 3035. Tax and Loan Accounts.** Tower (R Texas) motion to table, and thus kill, the Byrd (D W.Va.) motion to proceed with floor consideration of the bill to allow payment of interest to the U.S. government and to state and local governments on public funds deposited in demand accounts in commercial banks. Motion to table agreed to 34-33; R 24-3; D 10-30 (ND 1-26; SD 9-4), Sept. 20, 1976. (The effect of the vote was to preclude consideration of the bill.)

83) **S 2278. Civil Rights Attorneys Fees.** Motion to invoke cloture (and thus end debate) on the bill to award attorneys fees to prevailing parties in suits brought to enforce civil rights acts passed by Congress since 1866. Motion to invoke cloture agreed to 63-26; R 18-15; D 45-11 (ND 37-1; SD 8-10), Sept. 23, 1976. A three-fifths majority vote of the entire Senate (60) is required to invoke cloture.

84) **HR 13655. Automotive Research and Development.** Passage, over the President's Sept. 24 veto, of the bill to authorize a total of \$100-million for fiscal 1977-78 for a federal program under the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) to promote development of cars using nonpetroleum-based fuels. Rejected 41-35; R 5-25; D 36-10 (ND 30-2; SD 6-8), Sept. 29, 1976. A two-thirds majority (51 in this case) is required to override a veto. A "nay" supported the President's position.

85) **S 2278. Civil Rights Attorneys Fees.** Passage of the bill to authorize judges to award attorneys fees to prevailing parties in suits brought to enforce certain civil rights acts passed by Congress since 1866. Passed 57-15; R 18-10; D 39-5 (ND 30-0; SD 9-5), Sept. 29, 1976.

## SENATE

### 95th CONGRESS

86) **S Res 18. Presidential Pardon for Draft Evaders.** Allen (D Ala.) motion to table the McGovern (D S.D.) motion to refer to the Senate Judiciary Committee the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate in opposition to President-elect Carter's proposed pardon for Vietnam-era draft resisters and evaders. Motion to table rejected 37-41; R 21-8; D 14-33 (ND 4-30; SD 10-3), Jan. 14, 1977.

87) **S Res. 18. Presidential Pardon for Draft Resisters.** Allen (D Ala.) motion to invoke cloture (and thus end debate) on the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate in opposition to President Carter's pardon for Vietnam-era draft resisters and evaders. Motion to invoke cloture rejected 53-43; R 27-9; D 26-34 (ND 13-28; SD 13-6), Jan. 24, 1977. A three-fifths majority vote of the total Senate membership (60) is required to invoke cloture.

88) **S Res 18. Presidential Pardon for Draft Resisters.** Byrd (D W.Va.) motion to table, and thus kill, the resolution. Motion to table agreed to 48-46; R 10-26; D 38-20 (ND 32-7; SD 6-13), Jan. 25, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President.

89) **S 474. Natural Gas Emergency.** Stevenson (D Ill.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Brooke (R Mass.) amendment, identical to previously offered amendment to prohibit termination of gas service during the emergency period to gas users unable to pay. Motion to table agreed to 60-28; R 23-10; D 37-18 (ND 21-16; SD 16-2), Feb. 1, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position. (The President wanted no change in the bill in order to expedite passage.)

90) **S Res 4. Senate Reorganization.** Passage of the resolution reducing the number of Senate committees, limiting the number of chairmanships a senator could have and the number of subcommittees on which a senator could serve and revising the juris-

dictions of Senate committees. The resolution embodied the most sweeping overhaul of the Senate committee system since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and could result in a major change in the way the Senate conducted its business. Adopted 89-1; R 33-0; D 56-1 (ND 38-1; SD 18-0), Feb. 4, 1977.

91) **Warnke SALT Nomination.** Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Paul C. Warnke of the District of Columbia to head the U.S. delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) talks with the Soviet Union. Confirmed 58-40; R 10-28; D 48-12 (ND 37-4; SD 11-8), March 9, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

92) **Warnke ACDA Nomination.** Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Paul C. Warnke of the District of Columbia to be Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). Confirmed 70-20; R 14-24; D 56-5 (ND 41-1; SD 15-4), March 9, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

93) **S 427. Public Works Jobs Program.** Johnston (D La.) amendment to bar the President from withholding funds appropriated for 19 water projects that the administration had slated for cancellation. Adopted 65-24; R 30-4; D 35-20 (ND 22-15; SD 13-5), March 10, 1977. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

94) **S 427. Public Works Jobs Program.** Passage of the bill to raise the authorization level to \$6-billion from \$2-billion for the emergency public works employment program as part of President Carter's economic stimulus package and to authorize \$9-billion through fiscal 1978 for an ongoing program of water pollution projects. Passed 74-11; R 23-8; D 51-3 (ND 38-1; SD 13-2), March 10, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

95) **S 174. Rhodesian Chrome Imports.** Passage of the bill to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome in order to bring the United States into compliance with United Nations economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia in 1966. Passed (thus completing congressional action) 66-26; R 18-17; D 48-9 (ND 38-2; SD 10-7), March 15, 1977.

96) **S Res 110. Senate Ethics Code.** Nelson (D Wis.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Helms (R N.C.) amendment to increase to 90 days, from 60 days, the amount of time prior to a primary election and to 180 days, from 60 days, the amount of time prior to a general election during which senators could not use the frank for mass mailings. Motion to table agreed to 47-46; R 12-25; D 35-21 (ND 24-15; SD 11-6), March 29, 1977.

97) **S Res 110. Senate Ethics Code.** Nelson (D Wis.) motion to table, and thus kill, the Percy (R Ill.) amendment to delete a section prohibiting members or employees from engaging in professional services for compensation and to retain a ban on activities that would conflict with official duties. Motion to table agreed to 57-33; R 8-28; D 49-5 (ND 37-1; SD 12-4), March 29, 1977.

98) **HR 4800. Supplemental Jobless Benefits.** Passage of the bill to extend for six months, through Sept. 30, a 13-week program of supplemental unemployment insur-



ance to provide a maximum of 52 weeks of benefits in states with high unemployment rates. Passed 84-11: R 24-11; D 60-0 (ND 42-0; SD 18-0), March 30, 1977.

99) **HR 3477. Economic Stimulus Tax Cuts.** Danforth (R Mo.) and Javits (R N.Y.) amendment to permanently reduce income tax rates in the income brackets below \$20,000 by 4 to 14 per cent. Rejected 40-59: R 35-3; D 5-56 (ND 5-37; SD 0-19), April 27, 1977. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.

100) **HR 3477. Economic Stimulus Tax Cuts.** Kennedy (D Mass.) amendment to disallow first-class air travel as a business expense qualifying as a tax deduction and prohibit the use of government funds for first-class air travel by members of Congress and federal officers and employees. Rejected 43-45: R 12-22; D 31-23 (ND 23-15; SD 8-8), April 28, 1977.

101) **HR 11. Public Works Jobs Program.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize an additional \$4-billion for the emergency public works employment program as requested in President Carter's economic stimulus package. Adopted 71-14: R 21-13; D 50-1 (ND 36-1; SD 14-0), April 29, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

102) **HR 3477. Economic Stimulus Tax Cuts.** Passage of the bill to reduce individual and business taxes, simplify the tax tables and extend the countercyclical assistance program to state and local governments. Passed 73-7: R 28-4; D 45-3 (ND 32-3; SD 13-0), April 29, 1977.

103) **HR 4876. Economic Stimulus Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage of the bill to appropriate \$20,395,984,000 in fiscal 1977 supplemental funds for a variety of federal programs, including the components of President Carter's economic stimulus package. Passed 63-15: R 18-13; D 45-2 (ND 29-1; SD 16-1), May 2, 1977. The President had requested \$23,793,849,000 for the programs in fiscal 1977-78.

104) **HR 5840. Export Administration/Arab Boycott.** Passage of the bill revising the Export Administration Act of 1969 and prohibit U.S. companies from complying with the Arab boycott against Israel. Passed 90-1: R 34-1; D 56-0 (ND 40-0; SD 16-0), May 5, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

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SENATORS 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

#### ILLINOIS

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## 1976 U.S. SENATE VOTES (94th CONGRESS)

SENATORS 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85

### ILLINOIS

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### MISSOURI

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## 1977 U.S. SENATE VOTES (95th CONGRESS)

SENATORS 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104

### ILLINOIS

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### MISSOURI

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Danforth (R) Y N Y Y Y N N Y Y Y N N Y Y Y Y Y Y

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# HOUSE

94th CONGRESS

1) **HR 13367. Revenue Sharing Extension.** Fountain (D N.C.) amendment, to the Brooks (D Texas) substitute version, to delete provisions 1) providing for supplemental assistance to local governments based on need, 2) requiring state governments to report on activities intended to modernize local government operations, 3) expanding the Davis-Bacon Act wage requirements, and 4) modifying additional nondiscrimination requirements. Adopted 233-172: R 127-6; D 106-166 (ND 43-144; SD 63-22), June 10, 1976. (The Brooks substitute, which added all the committee amendments to the version of the bill approved by the Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and Human Resources, subsequently was adopted by voice vote as amended.)

2) **HR 13367. Revenue Sharing Extension.** O'Hara (D Mich.) amendment, to the Brooks (D Texas) substitute, as amended, to apply the Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage requirements to all state and local government construction projects rather than only those involving 25 per cent or more of revenue sharing funds. Rejected 174-218: R 11-119; D 163-99 (ND 143-40; SD 20-59), June 10, 1976.

3) **HR 14261. Prohibit Informants' Pay.** Symms (R Idaho) amendment to prohibit use of funds appropriated by the Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1977 to be used to pay informers for information relating to tax law violations. Rejected 160-187: R 60-56; D 100-131 (ND 66-94; SD 34-37), June 14, 1976.

4) **HR 14237. Limit Food Stamps, Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Rousselot (R Calif.) amendment to delete \$794,400,000 from the food stamp program, limiting that program to \$4-billion for fiscal 1977. Rejected 184-222: R 118-19; D 66-203 (ND 19-167; SD 47-36), June 16, 1976.

5) **HR 14262. Drop Military Retirees' Increase.** Adams (D Wash.) amendment to eliminate \$111.7-million from the bill by abolishing the 1 per cent add-on to cost-of-living increases for military retirees' pay. Adopted 331-64: R 117-22; D 213-42 (ND 153-22; SD 61-20), June 17, 1976.

6) **HR 14262. Cut Nuclear Carrier Funds.** Burlison (D Mo.) amendment to cut \$350-million for long lead-time procurement for a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Rejected 179-213: R 33-103; D 146-110 (ND 132-42; SD 14-68), June 17, 1976.

7) **HR 14262. Defer B-1 Funds.** Addabbo (D N.Y.) amendment to defer until Feb. 1, 1977, obligations of funds appropriated for procurement of the first three regular-production B-1 bombers. Rejected 186-207: R 29-107; D 157-100 (ND 141-35; SD 16-65), June 17, 1976.

8) **HR 14262. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage of the bill to appropriate \$105,397,343,000 for operations and programs of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1977. Passed 331-53: R 131-2; D 200-51 (ND 119-51; SD 81-0),

June 17, 1976. The President had requested \$106,762,172,000.

9) **HR 13179. Panama Canal Zone.** Snyder (R. Ky.) amendment, to the Buchanan substitute amendment to the original Snyder amendment to strike out the phrase "protect the vital interests" of the United States in the Panama Canal Zone and insert "perpetuate the sovereignty and control" of the United States in the zone. Rejected 157-197: R 68-52; D 89-145 (ND 34-125; SD 55-20), June 18, 1976.

10) **S 3201. Public Works Jobs.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize funding through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for job-creating state and local public works projects, \$1.25-billion for countercyclical aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$700-million for waste water treatment programs. Adopted (thus cleared for the President) 328-83: R 66-73; D 262-10 (ND 186-2; SD 76-8), June 23, 1976.

11) **HR 14232. Summer Youth Jobs.** Mitchell (D Md.) amendment to add \$66.6-million to the bill for summer youth employment programs. Adopted 205-201: R 17-118; D 188-83 (ND 158-30; SD 30-53), June 23, 1976.

12) **HR 14232. OSHA Regulations.** Ford (D Mich.) substitute, for the Skubitz (R Kan.) amendment (to exempt farms employing 10 or fewer persons), to prohibit fines against farmers who employed five or fewer employees for violations of Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulations, unless the violations were willful, repeated or serious. Rejected 151-245: R 20-115; D 131-130 (ND 118-63; SD 13-67), June 24, 1976.

13) **HR 14232. OSHA Violations.** Findley (R Ill.) amendment to prohibit first instance citations for OSHA violations against businesses that employed 10 or fewer persons. Passed 231-161: R 114-20; D 117-141 (ND 50-128; SD 67-13), June 24, 1976.

14) **HR 14232. Population Research.** Scheuer (D N.Y.) amendment to increase funds for population research by \$16-million. Rejected 122-278: R 23-112; D 99-166 (ND 84-99; SD 15-67), June 24, 1976.

15) **HR 14232. Mental Health, Community Centers.** Conte (R Mass.) amendment to increase by \$24-million funding for mental health research and community centers. Adopted 248-136: R 61-70; D 187-66 (ND 145-35; SD 42-31), June 24, 1976.

16) **HR 14232. No Abortions Funding.** Hyde (R Ill.) amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill to pay for or to promote abortions. Adopted 207-167: R 94-34; D 113-133 (ND 69-104; SD 44-29), June 24, 1976.

17) **HR 14232. Reject Labor-HEW Appropriations Cut, Fiscal 1977.** Miller (R Ohio) amendment to provide for a 5 per cent across-the-board cut, with no single program to be reduced more than 10 per cent. Rejected 87-271: R 65-56; D 22-215 (ND 6-158; SD 16-57), June 24, 1976.

18) **HR 14234. SST Landings.** Yates (D Ill.) amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill for commercial flights of super-

sonic transport (SST) jets to land at U.S. airports until the aircraft could meet federal noise standards. Rejected 126-269: R 13-120; D 113-149 (ND 105-76; SD 8-73), June 28, 1976.

19) **HR 14260. Foreign Air Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage of the bill to appropriate \$4,833,498,000 for foreign assistance programs in fiscal 1977. Passed 238-169: R 59-77; D 179-92 (ND 151-35; SD 38-57), June 29, 1976. The President had requested \$5,497,220,000.

20) **S 3295. Housing Programs.** Brown (R Mich.) motion to recommit (and thus kill) to the House Banking, Currency and Housing Committee the conference report on the bill to authorize \$850-million in fiscal 1977 contract authority for federally subsidized housing programs, to increase funding available for housing programs for the elderly and to extend a number of other housing programs through fiscal 1977. Motion rejected 157-250: R 128-9; D 29-241 (ND 5-180; SD 24-61), June 30, 1976.

21) **HR 12438. Defense Procurement Authorization.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize \$32.5-billion for major weapons systems and military research and development programs of the Defense Department for fiscal 1977. Adopted 339-66: R 134-3; D 205-63 (ND 125-62; SD 80-1), June 30, 1976.

22) **H Res 1372. Members Allowances.** Bolling (D Mo.) motion to order the previous question ending debate and the possibility of amending the rule (H Res 1396) under which the resolution to strip the House Administration Committee of unilateral authority to alter members' perquisites was considered. Adopted 220-190: R 2-135; D 218-55 (ND 171-18; SD 47-37), July, 1976. (This allowed Democratic Caucus' reforms to be passed without amendment.)

23) **HR 12455. Day Care Assistance.** Adoption of the rule (H Res 1393) providing for House floor consideration of the conference report on the bill to provide \$240-million through fiscal 1977 in additional aid to federally funded day care centers serving low-income families, to suspend staffing standards for these centers until Oct. 1, 1977, and to revise group eligibility standards for social services programs aimed at lower-income families. Adopted 274-92: R 42-83; D 232-9 (ND 168-2; SD 64-7), July 1, 1976.

24) **HR 12455. Day Care Assistance.** Corman (D Calif.) motion that the House recede from its disagreement to a Senate amendment to the bill and concur in the amendment, as amended by a substitute, to provide \$240-million through fiscal 1977 in additional aid to federally funded day care centers serving low-income families, to suspend staffing standards for these centers until Oct. 1, 1977, and to revise group eligibility standards for social services programs aimed at lower-income families. (The substitute was drafted by House-Senate conferees.) Motion agreed to 281-71: R 69-55; D 212-16 (ND 158-5; SD 54-11), July 1, 1976.

25) **HR 13720. Consumer Credit Protection.** Annunzio (D Ill.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to prohibit debt-collection agencies from engaging in certain



practices considered unfair to consumers. A two-thirds majority vote (251 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. Motion rejected 201-175: R 51-73; D 150-102 (ND 132-42; SD 18-60), July 19, 1976.

26) **HR 14231. Fossil Fuel Funding.** Yates (D Ill.) motion to order the previous question on the Yates motion to agree to the conference agreement relating to a section of the bill appropriating \$521,775,000 in fiscal 1977 for fossil fuel programs of the Energy Research and Development Administration. Motion to order the previous question agreed to 325-70: R 125-9; D 200-61 (ND 123-55; SD 77-6), July 20, 1976. (The effect of the vote was to preclude consideration of an amendment to add \$23.7-million for energy conservation programs.

27) **HR 10210. Unemployment Compensation.** Pickle (D Texas) amendment to reduce the wage base on which unemployment compensation taxes were paid to \$6,000 a year, from \$8,000. Adopted 283-114: R 125-9; D 158-105 (ND 86-93; SD 72-12), July 20, 1976.

28) **S 3201. Public Works Jobs.** Passage, over the President's July 6 veto, of the bill to authorize funding through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for job-creating state and local public works projects, \$1.25-billion for anti-recessionary aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$700-million for waste water treatment programs. *Passed (thus overriding the President's veto and enacting into law) 310-96: R 57-81; D 253-15 (ND 186-2; SD 67-13), July 22, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (271 in this case) is required to override a veto. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.*

29) **HR 13777. Public Land Policy.** Mink (D Hawaii) amendment to give Congress review and veto authority only over proposed withdrawals from mining of land parcels of over 25,000 acres rather than of 5,000 acres as provided by the bill. Rejected 191-193: R 37-91; D 154-102 (ND 144-38; SD 10-64), July 22, 1976. (Yea vote aids preservation of environment.)

30) **HR 13555. Mine Safety and Health.** Quie (R Minn.) amendment to block the transfer of the Mine Enforcement and Safety administration (MESA) from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Labor. Rejected 119-263: R 88-43; D 31-220 (ND 7-166; SD 24-54), July 27, 1976. A "yea" supported the President's position. A "nay" vote was supported by unions.

31) **HR 11656. Government in the Sunshine.** Horton (R N.Y.) amendment, to the Flowers (D Ala.) amendment in the nature of a substitute, to define agency meetings as only those gatherings that convened for the purpose of conducting agency business, thus excluding informal gatherings at which agency business is discussed or conducted. Adopted 204-180; R 123-14; D 81-166 (ND 30-138; SD 51-28), July 28, 1976.

32) **HR 11656. Government in the Sunshine.** Horton (R N.Y.) amendment, to the Flowers (D Ala.) amendment in the nature of a substitute, to delete the bill's requirement that agencies keep verbatim transcripts of meetings and replace it with a

requirement that minutes be kept, thus reducing likelihood of litigation over legality of closing a meeting. Adopted 201-193: R 116-22; D 85-171 (ND 30-146; SD 55-25), July 28, 1976.

33) **HR 11656. Government in the Sunshine.** Moorhead (R Calif.) amendment, to the Flowers (D Ala.) amendment in the nature of a substitute, to delete language allowing any person, regardless of standing, to bring suit against an agency for violation of the bill's requirements. Rejected 134-258: R 90-46; D 44-212 (ND 13-165; SD 31-47), July 28, 1976. (The House subsequently adopted the Flowers amendment, as amended, by voice vote.)

34) **H Res 1421. Sikes Reprimand.** Adoption of the resolution calling for approval of the report of the Standards of Official Conduct Committee, dated July 23, 1976, charging Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D Fla.) with sponsoring legislation in Congress to remove restrictions from Florida land he owned an interest in, failing to disclose certain financial holdings and other alleged conflicts of interest. The vote marked the first time the House had punished one of its members since 1969, and stripped him of his seniority. Adopted 381-3: R 134-0; D 247-3 (ND 178-0; SD 69-3), July 29, 1976.

35) **HR 8401. Uranium Enrichment.** Bingham (D N.Y.) amendment to delete from the bill those sections authorizing the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) to contract with private industry for development of nuclear fuel enrichment plants. Adopted 170-168: R 22-99; D 148-69 (ND 118-28; SD 30-41), July 30, 1976. A "nay" supported the President's position.

36) **HR 13489. Antitrust Civil Process Act.** Seiberling (D Ohio) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to strengthen the antitrust investigatory powers of the Justice Department. Agreed to 254-127: R 49-81; D 205-46 (ND 162-14; SD 43-32), Aug. 2, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (254 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

37) **HR 14580. Antitrust Premerger Notification.** Hughes (D N.J.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to require large firms to notify the federal government in advance of planned mergers. Motion agreed to 278-103; R 67-63; D 211-40 (ND 171-5; SD 40-35), Aug. 2, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (254 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

38) **HR 14234. Highway Funding.** McFall (D Calif.) motion to recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment and concur in the Senate amendment to set a ceiling of \$7.2-billion on obligations for highway programs for fiscal 1977, with the provision that the ceiling could be changed by Congress any time before the beginning of fiscal 1977. Motion agreed to 226-167: R 83-51; D 143-116 (ND 117-64; SD 26-52), Aug. 3, 1976. A "yea" supported the President's position, and opposing the "highway lobby."

39) **HR 8401. Uranium Enrichment.** Second vote demanded by Price (D Ill.) on Bingham (D N.Y.) amendment to delete from the bill those sections authorizing the Energy Research and Development Admin-

istration (ERDA) to contract with private industry for development of nuclear fuel enrichment plants. Rejected 192-193: R 18-117; D 174-76 (ND 148-27; SD 26-49), Aug. 4, 1976. A "nay" supported the President's position and private nuclear industry's.

40) **HR 8401. Uranium Enrichment.** Passage of the bill to provide the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) authority to contract with private firms to build uranium enrichment facilities, subject to congressional approval. Passed 222-168: R 122-15; D 100-153 (ND 39-138; SD 61-15), Aug. 4, 1976. A "yea" supported the President's position and private nuclear industry's.

41) **HR 12261. District of Columbia Criminal Laws.** Dent (D Pa.) amendment to prohibit any changes in the D.C. Criminal Code from being made through changes in Police Department regulations. Adopted 262-92: R 111-14; D 151-78 (ND 86-67; SD 65-11), Aug. 23, 1976. (The result was to block the D.C. City Council's strict new gun control law.)

42) **HR 14032. Toxic Substances Control.** Moore (R La.) amendment to give either chamber of congress 60 days to invalidate any federal toxic substances regulation issued by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Adopted 210-157: R 96-34; D 114-123 (ND 55-107; SD 59-16), Aug. 23, 1976.

43) **HR 10432. Toxic Substances Control.** *Passage of the bill to establish a federal regulatory program for industrial and commercial chemicals, to require manufacturers to notify the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) before marketing new chemicals and to authorize the agency to require testing of potentially dangerous substances. Passed 319-45: R 95-32; D 224-13 (ND 156-6; SD 68-7), Aug. 23, 1976.*

44) **HR 15194. Reject Jobs Reductions.** Miller (R Ohio) motion to recommit the bill to the House Appropriations Committee with specific instructions to reduce appropriations for spending not required by law by 5 per cent. Rejected 108-276: R 89-38; D 19-238 (ND 6-175; SD 13-63), Aug. 25, 1976

45) **HR 15194. Passage of Public Works Jobs Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage of the bill to provide appropriations through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for job-creating state and local public works projects, \$1.25-billion for "countercyclical" aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$200-million for waste water treatment programs. Passed 311-72: R 68-59; D 243-13 (ND 179-2; SD 64-11), Aug. 25, 1976. The President had not requested any funds for the programs.

46) **H Res 1420. Wiretap Case.** Adoption of the resolution authorizing the chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to intervene in a pending court case regarding telephone wiretap information held by the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., and authorizing \$50,000 to employ special counsel in the case. Adopted 180-143: R 4-102; D 176-41 (ND 142-9; SD 34-32), Aug. 26, 1976.

47) **HR 8911. Supplemental Security In-**



come Amendments. Fraser (D Minn.) amendment to require states to "pass through" federal cost-of-living increases in Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits to SSI recipients instead of using them to reduce state SSI costs. Adopted 317-52: R 89-34; D 228-18 (ND 169-4; SD 59-14), Aug. 30, 1976.

48) HR 14844. Estate and Gift Tax Revision. Pepper (D Fla.) motion to order the previous question (and end further debate and the possibility for amendment) on the rule (H Res 1496) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to change the structure of estate and gift tax laws. Rejected 162-212: R 1-124; D 161-88 (ND 144-32; SD 17-56), Aug. 30, 1976. (The effect of the vote was to open the rule, which had permitted the consideration of only two amendments sponsored by liberal Democrats, to allow other amendments sought by Republicans and conservative Democrats.)

49) HR 14844. Estate and Gift Tax Revision. Anderson (R Ill.) amendment to the rule (H Res 1496) to permit floor consideration of any amendments to HR 14844, as long as the amendments appeared in the *Congressional Record* before Sept. 1. Adopted 218-157: R 126-0; D 92-157 (ND 36-140; SD 56-17), Aug. 30, 1976. (The effect of the vote was to give a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats time to draft at least two amendments to the bill, providing higher exemption levels and deleting a proposed change in the method of assessing capital gains on transferred assets. The rule was subsequently agreed to by voice vote.)

50) HR 13655. Automotive Research and Development. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize \$100-million for the first two years of a five-year program to promote development of cars that use nonpetroleum-based fuels. Adopted 344-39: R 106-26; D 238-13 (ND 171-5; SD 67-8), Aug. 31, 1976.

51) HR 13636. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) Authorization. House Judiciary Committee amendment to earmark one-third of LEAA discretionary funds to aid court administration and eliminate case backlog. Rejected 173-214: R 10-120; D 163-94 (ND 144-33; SD 19-61), Aug. 31, 1976.

52) HR 13636. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) Authorization. Hyde (R Ill.) amendment to substitute language requiring local and community organizations to receive the approval of local law enforcement officials before receiving LEAA grants for language in the bill merely requiring those organizations to notify law enforcement officials. Adopted 253-133: R 132-0; D 121-133 (ND 72-106; SD 49-27), Aug. 31, 1976.

53) HR 14238. Deny Salary Increase. Shipley (D Ill.) amendment, as modified by the Udall (D Ariz.) amendment, to deny the automatic cost-of-living salary increase scheduled to take effect on Oct. 1 for members of the House, senators, judges and top-level federal officials. Adopted 325-75: R 132-2; D 193-73 (ND 121-63; SD 72-10), Sept. 1, 1976.

54) HR 10498. Clean Air Act Amendments. Maguire (D N.J.) amendment to delete the "Class III" nondegradation cate-

gory from the bill, thus requiring more stringent protection of air in areas where it had not deteriorated to the minimum air quality levels required by national standards. Rejected 107-247: R 18-98; D 89-149 (ND 79-80; SD 10-69), Sept. 8, 1976.

55) HR 10498. Clean Air Act Amendments. Chappell (D Fla.) amendment to delete from the bill provisions to require protection of pristine air (nondegradation) and direct the National Commission on Air Quality to conduct a one-year study of the issue. Rejected 156-199: R 77-38; D 79-161 (ND 20-142; SD 59-19), Sept. 8, 1976.

56) HR 14262. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1977. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate \$104,343,835,000 for operations and programs of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1977. Adopted 323-45: R 121-3; D 202-42 (ND 120-42; SD 82-0), Sept. 9, 1976. The President had requested \$107,936,172,000.

57) HR 10498. Clean Air Act Amendments. Rooney (D Pa.) amendment to permit until 1982 expansion of existing facilities and construction of new ones in regions exceeding national air quality standards. Rejected 103-198: R 31-77; D 72-121 (ND 48-79; SD 24-41), Sept. 9, 1976.

58) HR 10498. Clean Air Act Amendments. Carter (R Ky.) amendment to set less stringent overall pollution limits in clean air areas covered by the nondegradation provisions. Rejected 100-183: R 53-48; D 47-135 (ND 5-116; SD 42-19), Sept. 9, 1976.

59) HR 13958. Defense Officer Post-Service Employment. Hughes (D N.J.) amendment to prohibit high-ranking officers from accepting employment with defense contractors for a period of three years after retirement from the military services. Adopted 209-136: R 56-63; D 153-73 (ND 118-33; SD 35-40), Sept. 13, 1976.

60) HR 14940. Treaty with Spain. Passage of the bill to implement the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and Spain by authorizing \$36-million in fiscal 1977 for U.S. aid to the Spanish government for military equipment and scientific programs in return for continued use of four naval and air bases. Passed 331-34: R 121-6; D 210-28 (ND 141-22; SD 69-6), Sept. 14, 1976.

61) S 2371. National Parks Mining. Young (R Alaska) amendment to exempt part of the Glacier Bay National Monument in Alaska from a ban on new mining claims. Rejected 110-251: R 69-58; D 41-193 (ND 14-147; SD 27-46), Sept. 14, 1976.

62) HR 10498. Auto Emission Controls. Waxman (D Calif.) amendment to require final auto emission control standards to take effect in 1981 and tighter interim standards in 1978-1980. Rejected 75-313: R 3-129; D 72-184 (ND 67-108; SD 5-76), Sept. 15, 1976.

63) HR 10498. Auto Emission Controls. Dingell (D Mich.) amendment to postpone final auto emission control standards until 1982 and to allow the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to modify the final standard for nitrogen oxides (NO). Adopted 224-169: R 107-27; D 117-142 (ND 52-125; SD 65-17), Sept. 15, 1976. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

64) HR 10498. Clean Air Act Amendments. Broyhill (R N.C.) motion to recommit the bill to committee with specific instructions to relax certain provisions on regulation of stationary source pollution. Rejected 117-272: R 68-63; D 49-209 (ND 51-174; SD 44-35), Sept. 15, 1976.

65) HR 10498. Passage of Clean Air Act Amendments. Passage of the bill to revise air pollution clean-up requirements and schedules for automobiles and stationary pollution sources and to establish new regulations for protection of clean air areas. Passed 324-68: R 93-38; D 231-30 (ND 173-9; SD 58-21), Sept. 15, 1976.

66) HR 8800. Electric Vehicles Research. Passage, over the President's Sept. 13 veto, of the bill to authorize \$160-million in fiscal 1977-82 and \$60-million in loan guarantees for a research and demonstration project aimed at promoting the use of electric vehicles by individuals, businesses and government. Passed 307-101: R 62-74; D 245-27 (ND 182-7; SD 63-20), Sept. 16, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (272 in this case) is required to override a presidential veto. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

67) HR 14232. Ban Abortion Funds. Flood (D Pa.) motion to recede and concur with an amendment to the Senate amendment reported in disagreement by House-Senate conferees dealing with abortion. Motion agreed to 256-114: R 104-22; D 152-92 (ND 99-73; SD 53-19), Sept. 16, 1976. (The effect of the motion was the adoption of language banning the use of federal funds to pay for abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.)

68) HR 15069. National Forest Management. Passage of the bill to establish guidelines for the management of the national forests, to delete language from the Organic Act of 1897 that had halted timber harvesting from several national forests and to authorize \$200-million annually for reforestation of national forest lands, after defeating amendments forbidding clear-cutting and mandating sustained yield. Passed 305-24: R 105-5; D 200-19 (ND 130-19; SD 70-0), Sept. 17, 1976.

69) HR 15194. Public Works Jobs Appropriations, Fiscal 1977. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide appropriations through fiscal 1977 of \$2-billion for state and local job-creating public works projects, \$1.25-billion for "countercyclical" aid to help state and local governments maintain services and \$480-million for waste water treatment programs. Adopted 263-53: R 58-46; D 205-7 (ND 142-1; SD 6306), Sept. 17, 1976. The President had not requested any funds for the programs.

70) HR 15445. Whale Study. Sullivan (D Mo.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to require the Secretary of Commerce to study the California gray whale and bowhead whale and to recommend by Jan. 1, 1980, conservation measure to assure their survival. Motion agreed to 314-70: R 100-32; D 214-38 (ND 161-12; SD 53-26), Sept. 20, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (256 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

71) S 1174. Earthquake Hazards Reduction. Brown (D Calif.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to create an office



of Earthquake Hazards Reduction to coordinate federal earthquake research programs. Rejected 192-192: R 47-87; D 145-106 (ND 116-54; SD 29-52), Sept. 20, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (256 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

72) **H Res 1509. Transkei Territory.** Solarz (D N.Y.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution urging the President not to extend diplomatic recognition to the Transkei territory in the Republic of South Africa when the territorial tribes residing there are granted independence from South Africa on Oct. 26, 1976. Rejected 245-156: R 39-94; D 206-62 (ND 167-16; SD 39-46), Sept. 21, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (268 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

73) **H Con Res 737. World Hunger.** Diggs (D Mich.) motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution stating it to be the sense of the Congress that every person throughout the world has a right to a nutritionally adequate diet and that the United States should substantially increase its assistance to help feed the world's poorest people. Motion agreed to 340-61: R 100-35; D 240-26 (ND 179-3; SD 61-23), Sept. 21, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (268 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

74) **HR 15377. Export Controls/Arab Boycott.** Michel (R Ill.) motion to recommit the bill to the International Relations Committee with specific instructions to delete all the provisions except those extending for one year (to Sept. 30, 1977) the Export Administration Act of 1969. Motion rejected 91-287: R 58-70; D 33-217 (ND 10-167; SD 23-50), Sept. 22, 1976.

75) **HR 15377. Export Controls/Arab Boycott.** Passage of the bill to extend the 1969 Export Administration Act to Sept. 30, 1977; to prevent U.S. companies from complying with the Arab trade boycott against Israel; to provide for export controls on Israel; to provide for export controls on any proposed shipments of U.S. goods to any nation that might pose a security threat to the United States, and to strengthen controls on exports of nuclear fuels and facilities to foreign countries. Passed 318-63: R 99-29; D 219-34 (ND 165-12; SD 54-22), Sept. 22, 1976.

76) **HR 15. Lobbying Disclosure.** Mikva (D Ill.) amendment, to require the General Accounting Office to refer to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct gifts from lobbyists to members of Congress totaling \$100 in a calendar year, for determination whether such gifts comply with House rules. Adopted 294-61: R 104-17; D 190-44 (ND 137-25; SD 53-19), Sept. 28, 1976.

77) **HR 15. Lobbying Disclosure.** Myers (R Pa.) amendment to require identification of anyone who contributes \$2,500 to a lobbying organization in a year or who spends 20 per cent of his own time lobbying. Rejected 159-195: R 83-49; D 76-155 (ND 44-115; SD 32-40), Sept. 28, 1976.

78) **HR 15. Lobbying Disclosure.** Railsback (R Ill.) amendment to require reporting of all contributions by individuals or organizations to registered lobbying organizations of more than \$2,500 per year. Adopted 290-53: R 111-10; D 179-43 (ND 123-30; SD 56-13), Sept. 28, 1976.

79) **HR 15. Lobbying Disclosure.** Passage of the bill to require disclosure of lobbying activities through annual registration and quarterly reports from organizations engaged in lobbying. Passed 307-34: R 104-18; D 203-16 (ND 144-7; SD 59-9), Sept. 28, 1976.

80) **HR 13655. Automotive Research and Development.** Passage, over the President's Sept. 24 veto, of the bill to authorize a total of \$100-million for fiscal 1977-78 for a federal program under the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) to promote development of cars using nonpetroleum-based fuels. Passed 293-102: R 56-78; D 237-24 (ND 173-6; SD 64-18), Sept. 29, 1976.

81) **HR 14232. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage, over the President's Sept. 29 veto, of the bill to appropriate \$56,618,207,575 for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies for fiscal 1977. Passed 312-93: R 65-71; D 247-22 (ND 183-3; SD 64-19), Sept. 30, 1976. A two-thirds majority vote (270 in this case) is required for passage over a veto. The President had requested \$52,618,208,000. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

82) **S 2278. Civil Rights Attorneys Fees.** Adoption of the resolution (H Res. 1591) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize judges to award attorneys fees to prevailing parties in suits brought to enforce certain civil rights acts passed by Congress since 1866. Adopted 262-108: R 62-69; D 200-39 (ND 156-7; SD 44-32), Oct. 1, 1976.

83) **S 2278. Civil Rights Attorneys Fees.** Passage of the bill to authorize judges to award attorneys fees to prevailing parties in suits brought to enforce certain civil rights acts passed by Congress since 1866. Passed (and thus cleared for the President) 306-68: R 92-37; D 214-31 (ND 163-3; SD 51-28), Oct. 1, 1976.

84) **HR 10210. Unemployment Compensation.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to extend unemployment compensation coverage to state and local government employees and certain other workers not currently eligible; to increase the net federal unemployment tax rate temporarily to .7 per cent from .5 per cent; to increase the taxable wage base to \$6,000 from \$4,200, and to make certain changes in the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program. Adopted 272-97: R 70-56; D 202-41 (ND 157-6; SD 45-35), Oct. 1976. A "yea" supports the President's position.

## HOUSE

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85) **H Res 222. Select Committee on Assassinations.** Adoption of the resolution to reconstitute for 90 days, effective Jan. 3, 1977, the Select Committee on Assassinations to inquire into the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; the committee to be funded under the continuing resolution allowing it approximately \$84,000 per month. Adopted 237-164: R 44-91; D

193-73 (ND 152-32; SD 41-41), Feb. 2, 1977.

86) **Congressional Pay Raise.** Wright (D Texas) motion to adjourn from Thursday, Feb. 17, until Monday, Feb. 21, 1977. Motion rejected 109-224: R 6-99; D 103-125 (ND 81-72; SD 22-53), Feb. 17, 1977. (Opponents of a scheduled pay raise for members of Congress tried to force a direct vote on the issue by keeping the House in session over the Feb. 19-20 weekend. The raise automatically was to take effect Feb. 20 unless either house by that date voted against it. After the vote, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D Mass.) said that under no circumstances could the leadership have brought the pay raise to a vote. The House subsequently adjourned without objection.)

87) **HR 11. Public Works Jobs Program.** Shuster (R Pa.) amendment to change the method of allocating program funds among states to base state shares in most cases solely on the number of unemployed persons. Adopted 229-158: R 87-41; D 142-117 (ND 76-107; SD 66-10), Feb. 24, 1977.

88) **HR 11. Public Works Jobs Program.** Passage of the bill to raise the authorization level to \$6-billion from \$2-billion for the emergency public works employment program as part of President Carter's economic stimulus package. Passed 295-85: R 56-69; D 239-16 (ND 171-8; SD 68-8), Feb. 24, 1977.

89) **H Res 287. House Ethics Code.** Boling (D Mo.) motion to order the previous question and thus end debate on the rule (H Res 338) under which the resolution to impose a new financial ethics code on House members was considered. Motion adopted 267-153: R 3-138; D 264-15 (ND 186-7; SD 78-8), March 2, 1977. (The rule providing for House floor consideration of H Res 287 subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

90) **H Res 287. House Ethics Code.** Adoption of the resolution to require comprehensive financial disclosure by House members, ban private office accounts, increase official office allowances, ban gifts from lobbyists, limit outside earned income and impose other financial restrictions on members. Adopted 402-22: R 124-18; D 278-4 (ND 196-0; SD 82-4), March 2, 1977.

91) **HR 3477. Stimulus Tax Cuts.** Passage of the bill to provide for a refund of 1976 individual income taxes and other payments, to reduce individual and business income taxes, to increase the individual standard deduction and to simplify tax preparation. Passed 282-131: R 45-96; D 237-35 (ND 175-11; SD 62-24), March 8, 1977. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

92) **H Res 383. House Select Committee on Ethics.** Republican House members complained that the measure was brought to the House floor as a privileged resolution that allowed no amendments. A GOP-backed attempt to open up the resolution for further debate and possible amendment was rejected by-passing Bolling's (D Mo.) motion to order the previous question and thus end debate on the resolution establishing a House Select Committee on Ethics. Motion agreed to 242-175: R 1-140; D 241-35 (ND 166-24; SD 75-11), March 9, 1977.



93) **HR 383, House Select Committee on Ethics.** Adoption of the resolution establishing a House Select Committee on Ethics to implement the House code of ethics. Adopted 410-1: R 141-0; D 269-1 (ND 185-0; SD 84-1), March 9, 1977.

94) **HR 3843, Women on Commission.** Fiscal 1977 Supplemental Housing Authorization, Oakar (D Ohio) amendment to require that public members of the National Commission on Neighborhoods include an equal number of men and women. Adopted 249-157: R 76-62; D 173-95 (ND 114-69; SD 59-26), March 10, 1977.

95) **HR 1746, Rhodesian Chrome Imports.** Passage of the bill to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome in order to bring the United States into compliance with United Nations economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia in 1966. Passed 250-146: R 39-94; D 211-52 (ND 174-8; SD 37-44), March 14, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

96) **HR 4876, Economic Stimulus Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Coughlin (R Pa.) amendment to reduce, to \$250-million from \$632.5-million, the appropriation for the "countercyclical" aid program to help state and local governments continue recession-threatened services. Rejected 183-225: R 125-15; D 59-210 (ND 15-173; SD 44-37), March 15, 1977.

97) **HR 4876, Economic Stimulus Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal 1977.** Passage of the bill to appropriate \$23.3-billion of supplemental fiscal 1977 funds for a variety of federal programs, including the components of President Carter's economic stimulus package. Passed 281-126: R 44-95; D 237-31 (ND 181-5; SD 56-26), March 15, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

98) **HR 4877, Vietnam Amnesty Program.** Myers (R Ind.) amendment to prohibit use of funds in first regular supplemental appropriations to carry out President Carter's Vietnam amnesty program. Adopted 220-187: R 122-16; D 98-171 (ND 36-149; SD 62-22), March 16, 1977. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.

99) **HR 4800, Supplemental Jobless Benefits.** Passage of the bill to extend for one year, through March 1978, a 13-week program of supplemental unemployment insurance to provide a maximum of 52 weeks of benefits in states and local areas with high unemployment rates. Passed 327-63: R 92-43; D 235-21 (ND 175-3; SD 60-18), March 21, 1977.

100) **HR 4250, Common-Site Picketing.** Passage of the bill to permit a labor union with a grievance with one contractor to picket all contractors on the same construction site and to establish a construction industry collective bargaining committee. Rejected 205-217: R 14-129; D 191-88 (ND 171-23; SD 20-65), March 23, 1977.

101) **HR 5294, Consumer Credit Protection.** Passage of the bill to prohibit debt collection agencies from engaging in certain practices alleged to be unfair to consumers. Passed 199-198: R 41-93; D 158-105 (ND 131-48; SD 27-57), April 4, 1977.

102) **HR 5262, International Financial Institutions.** Passage of the bill to authorize the United States to contribute

\$5.2-billion to certain international financial institutions, including the World Bank, International Finance Corporation, International Development Association, and the Asian and African Development Banks, for fiscal years 1978-81, and to require U.S. officials of such institutions to vote against extending aid to nations that engage in a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights. Passed 194-156: R 45-69; D 149-87 (ND 129-33; SD 20-54), April 6, 1977. A "nay" vote supported the President's position.

103) **HR 5970, Troop Reduction, Fiscal 1978 Defense Procurement Authorization.** Dellums (D Calif.) amendment to reduce overseas troop strength by 17,000 and total U.S. active duty troop strength by 50,000. Rejected 88-301: R 11-121; D 77-180 (ND 74-101; SD 3-79), April 25, 1977.

104) **HR 3843, Fiscal 1977 Supplemental Housing Authorization.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize an additional \$378-million for housing assistance for low- and moderate-income families, to extend to 30 years from 20 years the contract term of Section 8 assisted-housing programs, to extend the crime and riot insurance programs and to establish a National Commission on Neighborhoods. Adopted, thus completing congressional action, 355-47: R 109-29; D 246-18 (ND 179-4; SD 67-14), April 28, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

105) **HR 2, Strip Mining.** Passage of the bill to regulate surface coal mining operations and to acquire and reclaim abandoned mines. Passed 241-64: R 67-34; D 174-30 (ND 137-5; SD 37-25), April 29, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

106) **HR 11, Meramec Dam Project.** Young (D Mo.) motion to delete from the conference report Title II of the bill, which directed the President to spend funds previously appropriated for certain water resource projects, except the funds appropriated for the Meramec Dam in the state of Missouri. Motion rejected 108-302: R 50-88; D 58-214 (ND 44-142; SD 14-72), May 3, 1977.

107) **HR 11, Public Works Jobs Program.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize an additional \$4-billion for the emergency public works employment program as requested in President Carter's economic stimulus package. Adopted (thus completing congressional action) 335-77: R 74-65; D 261-12 (ND 184-4; SD 77-8), May 3, 1977. A "yea" vote supported the President's position.

108) **HR 6179, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Authorization.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$14.6-million for the operations of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for fiscal 1978. Passed 395-15: R 130-10; D 265-5 (ND 184-1; SD 81-4), May 3, 1977.

109) **HR 6689, UN Contribution.** Crane (R Ill.) amendment to reduce the U.S. contribution to the United Nations from \$218-million to \$57.6-million for fiscal 1978 and to require that the United States percentage contribution to the United Nations be no greater than the ratio of the U.S. population to the population of all United Nations members. Rejected

149-257: R 85-53; D 65-204 (ND 24-161; SD 40-43), May 4, 1977.

110) **HR 6689, State Department Authorization.** Ashbrook (R Ohio) amendment to prohibit the use of any funds in the bill for reparations or aid to Vietnam. Adopted 266-131: R 126-8; D 140-123 (ND 70-110; SD 70-13), May 4, 1977.

111) **HR 6689, State Department Authorization.** Passage of the bill authorizing \$1.7-billion for State Department expenses, U.S. contributions to international organizations and related programs in fiscal 1978. Passed 285-111: R 67-68; D 218-43 (ND 165-13; SD 53-30), May 4, 1977.

112) **H Res 334, AT&T Wiretap Case.** Adoption of the resolution authorizing the chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to continue to intervene in a pending court case regarding telephone wiretap information held by the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and to authorize \$55,000 from House contingency funds to employ special counsel in the case. Adopted 246-143: R 15-112; D 231-31 (ND 173-5; SD 58-26), May 9, 1977.

113) **H Res 527, Mikva Election Challenge.** Adoption of the resolution to dismiss the election challenge brought against Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D Ill.) by his Republican opponent, former Rep. Samuel H. Young. Adopted 272-107: R 19-105; D 253-2 (ND 175-1; SD 78-1), May 9, 1977.

114) **HR 6655, Housing and Community Development Programs.** Taylor (R Mo.) amendment, as amended by Ichord (D Mo.) amendment, to require lending institutions to notify property owners in flood-prone areas to whom they made loans whether they were entitled to federal disaster relief and to bar government "bail-out" of individuals who undertook development in flood-prone areas without taking adequate measures to protect against future floods. Adopted 220-169: R 101-26; D 119-143 (ND 49-127; SD 70-16), May 11, 1977.

115) **HR 6655, Housing and Community Development Programs.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$12.45-billion for the community development block grant program for fiscal years 1978-80 and to authorize more than \$2-billion for federally assisted, public and rural housing and to continue FHA mortgage and flood insurance programs. Passed 369-20: R 112-15; D 257-5 (ND 175-1; SD 82-4), May 11, 1977.

116) **HR 6714, Vietnam, Cuba Trade or Aid.** Ashbrook (R Ohio) motion to recommit the bill to the International Relations Committee with instructions that it be reported back to the House with an amendment prohibiting the use of any authorizations in the bill for any form of aid or trade with Vietnam or Cuba. Motion agreed to 288-119: R 128-4; D 160-115 (ND 85-104; SD 75-11), May 12, 1977.

117) **HR 6714, Foreign Economic Aid.** Passage of the bill to authorize \$1.7-billion for fiscal 1978 for foreign economic aid programs and modifying the PL 480 Food for Peace program. Passed 252-158: R 58-75; D 194-83 (ND 167-23; SD 27-60), May 12, 1977.

# 1976 U.S. HOUSE VOTES (94th CONGRESS)

REPRESENTATIVES 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35

## ILLINOIS

Metcalfe (D-1)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	X	?	✓	✓	X	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y		
Murphy (D-2)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
Russo (D-3)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y		
Derwinski (R-4)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	?	?	?	✓	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N		
Fary (D-5)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N			
Hyde (R-6)	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Collins (D-7)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y		
Rostenkowski (D-8)	N	Y	?	N	?	?	?	✓	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	N	X	?	?	Y	Y
Yates (D-9)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	✓	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Mikva (D-10)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Annunzio (D-11)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Crane (R-12)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	X	
McClory (R-13)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Erlenborn (R-14)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Hall (D-15)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	
Anderson (R-16)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	✓	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
O'Brien (R-17)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Michel (R-18)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Railsback (R-19)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	X	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Findley (R-20)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	
Madigan (R-21)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
Shipley (D-22)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	✓	?	?	?	✓	?	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	
Price (D-23)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Simon (D-24)	N	?	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	

## MISSOURI

Clay (D-1)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	✓	X	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	X	?	?	✓	?	?	?	?	?	?		
Symington (D-2)	?	✓	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	?	?	?	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y	✓	X	X	?	?	?	?	
Sullivan (D-3)	N	Y	N	N	P	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
Randall (D-4)	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	
Bolling (D-5)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Litton (D-6)	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	✓	N	Y	✓	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
Taylor (R-7)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Ichord (D-8)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Hungate (D-9)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Burlison (D-10)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N

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## ILLINOIS

Metcalfe (D-1)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	✓	?	?	?	Y		
Murphy (D-2)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	X	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Russo (D-3)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Derwinski (R-4)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y		
Fary (D-5)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		
Hyde (R-6)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	✓	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Collins (D-7)	Y	Y	Y	✓	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	X	?	?	X	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	✓	X	?	?	Y	N	?	?	Y	
Rostenkowski (D-8)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		
Yates (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y		
Mikva (D-10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-	-	+	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y		
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y		
Crane (R-12)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N		
McClory (R-13)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	
Erlenborn (R-14)	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hall (D-15)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Anderson (R-16)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	X	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Brien (R-17)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Michel (R-18)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	
Railsback (R-19)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Findley (R-20)	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Madigan (R-21)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	
Shipley (D-22)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	
Price (D-23)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		
Simon (D-24)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	



**REPRESENTATIVES** 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84

Metcalfe (D-1)	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Murphy (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Russo (D-3)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Derwinski (R-4)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Fary (D-5)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hyde (R-6)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Collins (D-7)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rostenkowski (D-8)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yates (D-9)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mikva (D-10)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	✓	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crane (R-12)	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?
McClory (R-13)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Erlenborn (R-14)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Hall (D-15)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Anderson (R-16)	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
O'Brien (R-17)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Michel (R-18)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Railsback (R-19)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Findley (R-20)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Madigan (R-21)	?	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shipley (D-22)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Price (D-23)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Simon (D-24)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y

Clay (D-1)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	✓	Y	Y	Y	?
Symington (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sullivan (D-3)	Y	?	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Randall (D-4)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bolling (D-5)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Litton (D-6)														
Taylor (R-7)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Ichord (D-8)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?
Hungate (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burlison (D-10)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

<b>REPRESENTATIVES</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>117</b>
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Metcalfe (D-1)	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
Murphy (D-2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Russo (D-3)	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	N		
Derwinski (R-4)	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Fary (D-5)	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Hyde (R-6)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Collins (D-7)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Rostenkowski (D-8)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	✓	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Yates (D-9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
Mikva (D-10)	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	•	N	Y	N	Y	
Annunzio (D-11)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	
Crane (R-12)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	?	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	
McClory (R-13)	N	N	?	X	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	✓	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	
Erlenborn (R-14)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Corcoran (D-15)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
Anderson (R-16)	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	
O'Brien (R-17)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Michel (R-18)	N	Y	?	X	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Railsback (R-19)	?	?	?	✓	X	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	✓	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Findley (R-20)	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Madigan (R-21)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Shipley (D-22)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	X	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	✓
Price (D-23)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	✓
Simon (D-24)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	✓

[illegible]

# POEMS

## THE TEMPERANCE RIVER MADNESS

/ Catherine Anne Carlson

*Ticonderoga* yellow pencil  
 moves across the page:  
 draws Conestoga wagons'  
 wooden wheels  
 and wagon box  
 packed full – bedstead,  
 chest of drawers, kitchen chairs  
 and table, maybe a keg of flour, buckets;  
 draws  
 80 acres split-rail fenced,  
 three-story clapboard farmhouse  
 with an attic and a cellar, gingerbread  
 front porch that surveys the west, back porch,  
 white picket fence, woodshed and winter's firewood  
 (strong winds year round up here), then the horse barn  
 then the cow barn then the pigsty then the chicken coop and  
 – in the front yard almost an antique,  
 a hand-carved weather vane,  
 where the tiniest of men  
 is sawing wood  
 to make the wind blow.

Sometimes / M.L. Hester, Jr.

We speak, sometimes, of the man  
 Who wasn't there, but only  
 Seemed to be. He was gay,  
 As if at a party, but his eyes  
 Followed you with the persistence  
 Of an old illness. And  
 When he went, it was like  
 A light going on somewhere that  
 You couldn't see but could feel.  
 It was the god of old emotions  
 That carried him away.

And sometimes we speak of the flower  
 That never grew in our garden.

John Isley, 85 / Crystal MacLean

trembled on the steps  
 put one foot in the air  
 down then the other  
 hope in his cane  
 fell on the sidewalk  
 picked himself  
 almost up gave up grinned  
 said Going down more every day

## Arrowhead Hunting, A Guide / Steven Hind

First, you will be willing  
                   to be made to look foolish  
 in the eyes of the wampam world.  
 You will be good at overboarding  
 at the sight of stone by a clod.

Second, you must go with arms  
                   bent behind your back,  
 Hands nested, getting all of yourself  
 out of the way.

Third, you will have to love the broken  
                   stones as well as the whole.  
 Damaged goods cannot be exchanged  
 for trading stamps or carry-alls.

Fourth, you will accept the signature  
                   of a thousand years' seeing  
 with none of the self in the way,  
 an essential sculpture, life its only  
 award.

Fifth, you will go knowing  
                   nothing you've lost will last.  
 You hunt for things that last.

Collision / Steven Hind

Cappy Newman beeps  
 his goats off the lane  
 and jerks out of those  
 old maid Model A ruts  
 onto 99, earflaps flying,  
 his lips grumbling  
 over a cud of Red Man,  
 the hard sunlight through  
 the cedars on the last  
 tar-top car in the county –

Mack tanker tops the ridge,  
 grinds that tub of a rear end  
 in its grill, crunches Cappy  
 like mackerel in a tight can.

The tractor jockey sits in Boone's  
 while Jake winches the A's junky bones  
 from the Mack's grill and tie rods.  
 Jocko says how goddamn glad he is  
 he had a full tank,  
 no fumes to explode.  
 "But Jeez," he keeps saying,  
 "I feel like I run over my own grandaddy,"  
 fingering the chevron on his cap,  
 swigging ice-cold Orange Crush.



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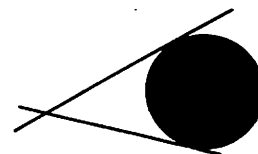
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## THE RIGHT WING

### TRIM, A BIRCH SOCIETY FRONT

During the final hours of April 15, the main St. Louis Post Office is the mecca of scores of late filers who wish to avoid a tax penalty. Again this year the post office arranged a curb mail pickup service, permitting the driver to remain in the car. Representatives of TRIM (Tax Reform Immediately), a front group of the Birch Society, took advantage of this steady stream of taxpayers. They handed out a TRIM newsletter which listed the voting records of area legislators on taxes and some rhetoric about cutting taxes. Alan Stang, writing in the April issue of *American Opinion*, the Birch Society journal, describes the activities of TRIM which "is just getting started." He claims that there are now 220 TRIM committees, covering more than 250 Congressional districts.

Four representatives of the public relations profession criticized the St. Louis media at the May 14 meeting of the St. Louis Society of Professional Journalists. The panelists levelled their primary criticism against the daily media.

### BIRCH SOCIETY CLAIMS SCHLAFLY AS MEMBER

Phyllis Schlafly, best known these days as the leader of the opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, but a long-time activist in the right wing, has frequently told reporters that she is not a member of the John Birch Society, a question raised years ago when Robert Welch, the JBS founder, referred to her as "a very loyal member of The John Birch Society." (JBS *Bulletin*, March 1960, p. 13)

When Group Research, Inc., repeated Welch's statement, Mrs. Schlafly wrote us on Feb. 17, 1964: "I am not a member at



all," adding that the source cited "is clearly in error." We responded by suggesting that she and Welch clarify the point, but we received no answer.

After many other denials of membership, Mrs. Schlafly and her husband, J. Fred, a lawyer who is also active in right-wing groups, threw doubt on the denials by appearing prominently on the program at the Bircher's annual Fourth of July Rally in 1973.

Now, a reporter for the Des Moines Register, Louise Swartzwalder, has called the Birch headquarters (which is also working against ERA) and asked them about Mrs. Schlafly's status with them. After talking to John F. McManus, Director of Public Relations there, the reporter wrote on Jan. 19:

"McManus said Welch made the statement after checking with Schlafly and receiving her permission. He said the society stands by Welch's statement."

The newsletter of Phyllis Schlafly's "Eagle Forum" for April salutes Vickie Harvey, of Missouri, as "our eagle of the month" because she "personally made over 400 Easter cakes in the shape of a lamb (hand-beaten, no mixes), sold them for \$6 each, and donated the recipes to help defeat ERA in Florida."

## FUNDRAISERS IN LEGAL TROUBLE

In unrelated events, Patrick and Martin Gorman, fund-raisers in the Washington area, were sentenced in absentia to 90 days in prison by a Cook County, Illinois, Circuit Judge for taking too much from a campaign ostensibly to help widows and orphans of policemen. Last October, the Judge, Nathan Cohen, issued a \$567,000 judgment against the brothers. When they failed to appear, he cited them for contempt. They were charged with raising \$785,000 for the Policemen's Hall of Fame in Florida and keeping \$614,000 for their expenses. Patrick Gorman has helped raise money for *National Review* and *Triumph* magazines as well as other right-wing enterprises, such as Friends of the F.B.I. Also, the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, one of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's operations, was ordered last January to stop soliciting funds in New York State for using less than 7% of the \$1.5 million it raised last year for children's relief and other stated purposes. At about the same time, New York filed a suit against Richard A. Viguerie Company for failure to register as a fund-raiser for the group and for taking too much of the proceeds — at least \$930,000 of the \$1.5 million.

## \$10.5 MILLION K.C. FUND SUPPORT RIGHTIST, ANTI-SEMITIC CAUSES

Few People outside of Kansas City, Missouri, have heard of William Volker, but he set up a tax-exempt fund 45 years ago which has already helped some conservative

causes, is now up for grabs (as it is being liquidated) and is likely to go mostly to right-wing causes.

Volker appeared to have willed his business fortune to local charities, but a split among the five trustees has moved the story to California, where some of them have been living. The final disposition of \$10,500,000 must be made by November 4.

What appears to be a local story has national significance because the Volker Fund, started as a "charity," put substantial sums into various conservative causes after Volker died, in 1947.

While at least one of the five trustees is trying to prevent disposition to conservative causes, Kansas City *Star* reporter, Harry Jones, then in California, wrote on April 14: "The prime contender for most if not all of the money in the Volker Fund... is the Hoover Institution... at Stanford University." He also reported that one of the trustees, Morris A. Cox, had moved from Kansas City to California and was until recently a board member of the Hoover Institution.

In the early '60s, officials of the fund were active in the right-wing Foundation for Economic Education, and the Fund was the largest single contributor in the mid-Forties to FEE. Also, with the aid of the FEE vehicle, the Volker Fund financed the 1947 founding conference of the Mont Pelerin Society, still a leading force on the intellectual side of the right-wing.

Last year, the Volker Fund's largest contribution (about \$500,000) went to the Hoover Institution and the second largest (\$60,000) to the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, Inc.

In 1956, the Fund created a subsidiary, the *Foundation for Voluntary Welfare*, which supported conservative writers and others in criticizing public welfare and finding alternatives. In 1962, FVW "assumed an inactive status" and apparently returned

remaining assets to the Volker Fund.

In 1963, the Volker Fund announced that it was establishing a *Center for American Studies* in Burlingame, California, which would be one of the major recipients of money remaining from the Volker group. That promised disposition of funds has apparently gone unchallenged until this year, illustrating the power of a huge sum administered by a closely-knit group.

That the Fund has had an impact is illustrated by the fact that a 1961 grant went to David L. Hoggan, a revisionist historian who shifted from the Volker Fund in 1963 to the Center for American Studies and very soon thereafter (1964) got a prize from German right-wing intellectuals for his book claiming that World War II was caused by Britain, rather than Germany. Hoggan has also written for the radical-right *American Mercury* and was apparently one of the first to write about "the myth of the six million," declaring that the Jewish holocaust did not occur.

Volker's funds are still likely to be channeled into the right-wing 30 years after his death as indicated by the chance that much will go to the Hoover Institution, for it has supported a number of conservative scholars for many years. Incidentally, it now has 25 tons of the papers of Ronald Reagan, as well as those of Herbert Hoover and others.

## GEN. EDWIN A. WALKER FINED

Former Major Gen. Edwin A. Walker, a former leader of right-wing causes, has been fined and placed on probation for public lewdness here. Walker pleaded no contest to one of two misdemeanor public lewdness charges alleging that he propositioned a police officer in a city park restroom. In 1961, Gen. Walker resigned his post as commander of a Division in Germany, rather than obey orders to stop what was alleged as indoctrination of United States soldiers.

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